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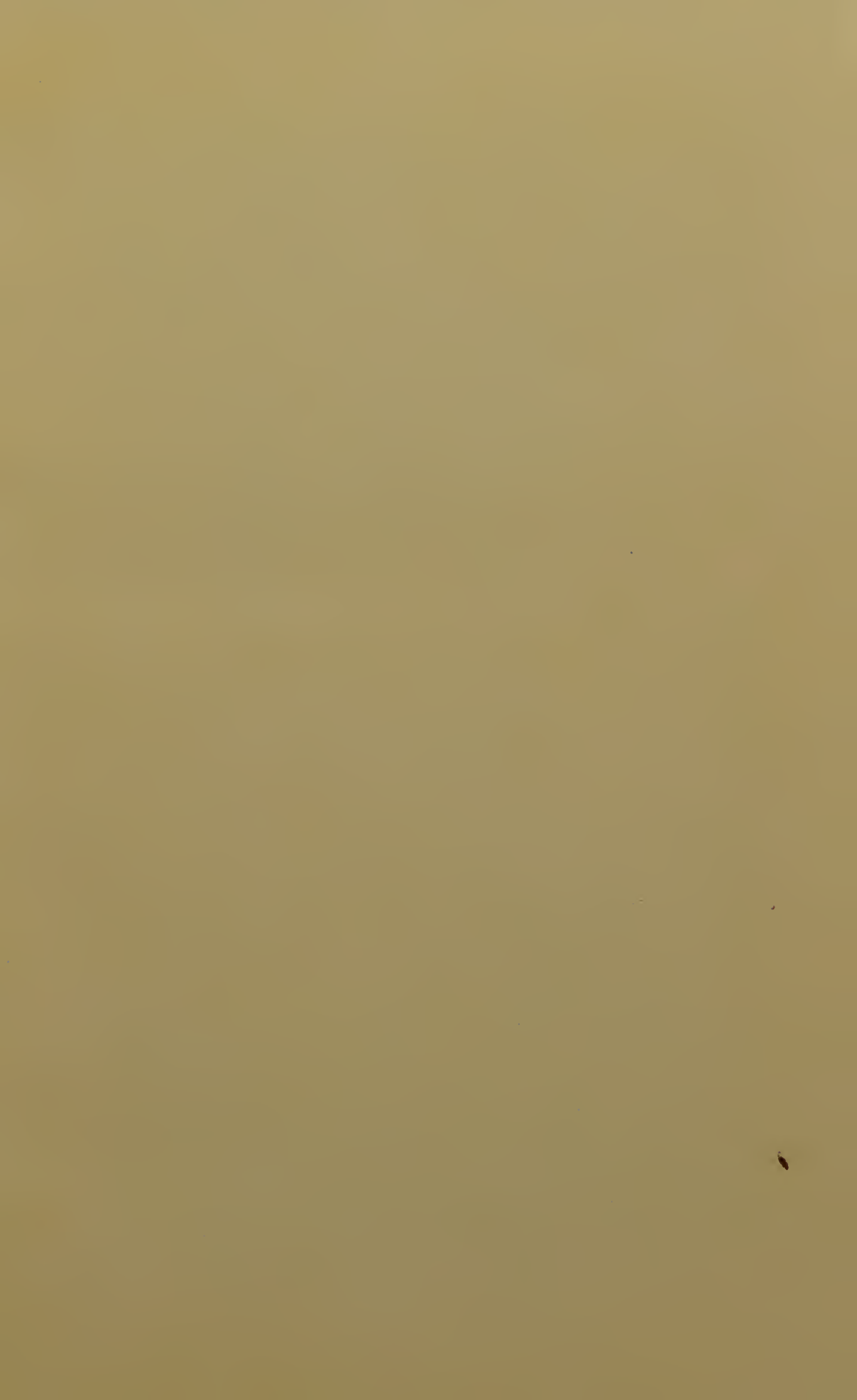
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HAMPSTEAD WELLS





THE WELLS GARDEN AND POND ABOUT 1845
(From a drawing by Miss J. George)

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

A SHORT HISTORY OF
THEIR RISE AND
DECLINE

BY

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CAMPDEN CHARITY



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PREFACE

THIS story of the Hampstead Wells is in no wise intended to trench upon ground already traversed by the various writers upon the subject whose works are more or less familiar. The main, if not the sole, object of its appearance is to give to the public sundry historical facts connected with the Wells, which have in the course of time been brought to my knowledge, but have, so far as I know, hitherto escaped the notice of previous writers. It has been my good fortune to have had exceptional opportunities for acquiring this information placed in my path during my many years' residence in the parish of Hampstead. To Sir Spencer Maryon Wilson, in the first place, my thanks are due for permitting me to have access to the very interesting records of the Manor at Old Charlton House.

For much valuable help in the examination of old legal documents in the possession of the Trustees of the Wells Charity I am indebted to Mr. F. R. D. Monro. I have also to thank Mr. Ernest Collins for his interesting article upon the supply of water to London from Hampstead in

times past. I have further to acknowledge valuable help and information furnished most kindly by Mr. C. Earle, Mrs. and Miss Rooth, Mr. W. A. Hallowes and others.

With two exceptions, the few sketches and diagrams necessary to illustrate the text have been made by me from memory.

Rightly or not, I have been credited by my friends with the possession of much topographical information regarding Hampstead, which they have frequently urged me to give to the public in book form. This little book is an endeavour partly to comply with such requests. Whether these friends in particular, and the Hampstead public in general, will now consider that the matter contained in these pages is such as to have warranted its publication, is a question which I must leave to their decision.

G. W. POTTER.

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HAMPSTEAD WELLS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Hampstead Hill.—Geological features of the neighbourhood.—Streams issuing from the higher ground.—Main source of the Fleet River.—Various chemical properties of the water from these springs.—Ferruginous grit, etc.

BEFORE proceeding to give an account of the ancient wells and springs at Hampstead it is necessary to refer, however briefly, to the more salient geological features of the neighbourhood. These have been often treated of by expert writers, and sections of the subjacent strata have of late years been so frequently exposed by the excavations made in sinking shafts for railways, wells, and sewers, etc., that most people who know the neighbourhood possess more or less knowledge of the subject. It will be sufficient, therefore, to state that the highest part of the hill on which Hampstead is situated is 443 feet above the Ordnance datum. The sand and gravel, etc., which are there found are a

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

portion of the beds known to geologists as the Lower Bagshot Sands. This bed of sand and gravel is about 80 feet thick at the summit of the Heath. The outline of this sandy bed in the west and south-west is very irregular. For instance, at the present date, 1904, in sinking the shafts for the Tube Railway at the corner of High Street and Heath Street, the London clay was met with at only 16 feet below the surface; while at a considerable distance further south, viz., at the upper part of Fitzjohn's Avenue, these same sand-beds are found of greater thickness than this. Underlying this deposit of sand is a bed of sandy clay or brick earth, the thickness of which is about 50 feet. The upper sand-bed consists of a very fine yellow sand, with coarser sand and gravel in places. Masses of a ferruginous grit are also found in this sand; but since digging for sand has been discontinued on the Heath, not so frequently as before.¹ We have here, therefore, a hill of large area capped by an upper permeable bed of sand resting upon a slightly permeable layer of sandy clay, which in its turn rests upon a bed—some 500 feet in thick-

¹ Blocks of this grit were so often dug up at one time that they were used as a sort of rough edging to some of the footpaths in the parish. Some blocks may be seen at the present time at the edge of the footpath leading from Jack Straw's Castle to North End.

INTRODUCTORY

ness—of thick impermeable London clay. As rain falls upon such a surface it rapidly filters through the upper sand-bed to its junction with the sandy clay-bed, and a certain quantity of this water penetrates this latter deposit until arrested in its downward progress by the impermeable London clay below it.

This water has for ages past escaped at the outcrop of the several strata lower down the hill, on all sides. Formerly the area of the Heath was much greater than it is now, with its surface more or less covered with heather and bog. Under these natural conditions this elevated surface of heath and swamp became a sort of sponge, first receiving the rain-water upon its surface, and then allowing it slowly to escape in numerous small streamlets to the lower level of the surrounding country. It is at the junction of the upper sand-bed with the sandy clay that the greatest amount of this water is met with. There is here a thin bed of argillaceous sand, called by workmen "running sand." It is this latter bed which causes so much trouble to workmen in excavating, a difficulty which has been recently experienced in making the excavations at Heath Street for the Tube Railway. The more copious springs issuing from the higher ground have gradually formed by denudation several well-defined valleys which can be traced even at the present time.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

Each of these contained, up to sixty or seventy years ago, its own rapidly flowing streamlet. Of these streams the most important (as I shall show later) was that which extended from Flask Walk, down a rather deep valley (since filled up), by what is now known as Willow Road, to South End Green and the Kentish Town Fields. Other sources were near, but this was the main source of the Fleet River. This stream was joined by a smaller one from the eastern side of the Heath—near where the railway station now is—and still further east ran the streamlet from the Ken Wood Springs, joining the Fleet Brook by the present Kentish Town Road. On the south another depression contained a stream of clear spring water, starting near the old churchyard, and running through the fields to Westbourne and Bayswater, while another such streamlet started from springs in the North Hall Fields, and meandered through the meadows to Kilburn.

On the north-west a wider valley extends from the hill below the flag-staff, and from this valley there runs another streamlet through Golder's Hill and the fields beyond, until it joins the Brent River. It is well known that the chemical properties of the water from different springs in the same neighbourhood often vary very much, and this is the case with regard to water from the springs at Hampstead. At Well Walk and

INTRODUCTORY

at the eastern side of the Heath there are numerous springs, the water from which is more or less chalybeate in character, and what is called hard, while the springs issuing on the south and west—and notably the old Conduit spring—used to supply a pure soft potable water, showing that the chemical constituents of the strata through which these waters filter their way differ very much in character.

It is hardly necessary to pursue this part of my subject further. It will be better now to consider, as far as we can, by the help of the scanty information available from existing records, the history of the Hampstead wells and springs prior to the eighteenth century, when Hampstead was the chief source of water supply to London.

CHAPTER II

LONDON'S WATER SUPPLY

Hampstead formerly one of the chief sources of water supply to London.—Old conduits in the City.—London's ancient water authority the Corporation.—Their periodical visits and inspections of the springs in the north of London.—Quotations from Strype, Fitzstephen, and Park.—Water mills.—Droughts.—Outbreaks of plague.—Act of 35 Hen. VIII obtained by Corporation of London.—Repair of old conduits.—Construction of new.—Rights of Lord of Manor and of inhabitants preserved.—The Shepherd's Hill conduit.—Discovery of an old conduit in Gayton Road.

LONDON during the Middle Ages possessed in the River Thames an ample supply of water for various household and manufacturing purposes; but for drinking water it had to depend chiefly upon wells and conduits which were fed by the springs and streams coming from the higher ground on the north and north-west. At first the "intake" of this water from these springs was near the City. As the City grew in extent these sources of supply became more and more polluted, and it became necessary to procure such water from sources farther removed from

OLD CONDUITS IN LONDON

the town. For instance, the conduits and wells in the older City were superseded by newer ones at Clerks' Well or Clerkenwell, Holy Well, Clements' Well, Baggnidge Wells, at Islington, and even further north. On this subject the late Sir Walter Besant says in his "London": "At this period the inhabitants of London City were not water drinkers—they chiefly drank small ale at their meals."

Small ale must have been a much more wholesome beverage than the contaminated water procurable in the City. Frequent as were the outbreaks of plague in London during the Middle Ages, they would have been even more frequent had the water from the City conduits been the only drink available. The need of a purer water supply was felt more and more as time went on. Mr. Ernest Collins, the New River Company's civil engineer, Memb.Inst.C.E., a gentleman well-known and highly respected in Hampstead, has kindly supplied me with much valuable information with regard to the water supply of London from Hampstead and elsewhere in times past. He writes: "The City Corporation is London's most ancient water authority. Under their auspices as early as 1239 water was brought in leaden pipes from Tyburn¹ to nine conduits in

¹ This water at Tyburn came from Hampstead by Kilburn.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

the City,¹ and from time to time fresh springs in the suburbs were used for the supply of the town. It became customary for the Mayor and Aldermen to annually inspect the springs, the function concluding—as is usual upon civic occasions—with a dinner.” “For example, Strype states that the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and many worshipful persons attended to see the conduit heads. Then turning aside into the wild woodland of Marylebone they hunted a hare; next they dined, and after dinner killed a fox, when there was a great cry for a mile, and at length the hounds killed him at the end of St. Giles’s with great hollowing and blowing of horns at his death.”

Park, in his “History of Hampstead,” thus quotes Fitzstephen, the Norman writer who lived in Henry II’s reign: “On the north,” says he, describing the suburbs, “are corn-fields, pastures, and delightful meadows, intermixed with pleasant streams, on which stand many a mill whose clack is delightful to the ear.” From this ancient and charming description of the country between London and Hampstead in the twelfth century,

¹ The chief of these old conduits was that in West Cheap, called the Great Conduit, made in 1285. Among others were the Toune or Tun on Corn Hill, made in 1401; one in Aldermanbury made in 1471. Several others are also mentioned by Stow in his Survey of London.

DROUGHTS AND THE PLAGUE

we incidentally learn how much greater than it is now was the amount of water flowing in these streams from the Hampstead and Highgate hills.

The water-mills that were evidently from this description numerous at the time of which Fitzstephen writes, have now disappeared; but even in the early part of the present year, 1904, the stream of water running from the overflow pipes of the chain of ponds on the Lower Heath was quite sufficient to supply power enough to work several water-mills.

It is recorded that in the year 1539 a severe drought occurred throughout the kingdom that caused much inconvenience, and this was followed by a violent outbreak of the plague in London in 1543, which in a very short time proved fatal to great numbers of the inhabitants. The Common Council decided to repair the conduits and to construct new ones for the supply of the City, and to apply to Parliament for power to obtain more water from springs at Hampstead Heath.

Accordingly an Act of Parliament (35 Henry VIII, cap. 10) was passed for enabling the Corporation to deal with the difficulty. This Act was entitled an Act "Concernyng the repayringe, making and amendinge of the Condytes in London," and recites that "the Citye of London

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

had been before this time well furnished and abundantly served till now of late that eyther for faintyness of the sprynges, or for the drie-nesse of the earth, the accustomed course of the waters carryinge from the olde springes and auncient heades are sore decayed, diminished and abated; and dayley be more and more lyke to dissapeire and fayle to the great discommodity and displeasure both of the Cityzens and inhabitants within the saide Citye and suburbes thereof, as to all other persons having recourse to the same, to the great decay of the same Citye if speedy remedy the sooner be not therein provided." "For remedy thereof Sir William Bowyer Knight now Maire of the said Citye intendynge and ponderinge the same necessity, much willynge to help and reliefe the saide Citye and suburbes, calling unto him as well dyvers grave and expert persons of bretherene and other of the Commonaltie of the saide Citye, as other persons in and aboute the Conveyance of water well Experimented hath not only by diligent searche and Exploracion found dyvers greate and plentyfull springes at Hampstead Heath, Marybone, Hackney, Muswelle Hille, and dyvers places within five miles of the said Citye, very mete, propise and convenient to be brought and conveyed to the same, but also hath laboured studied and devised the conveyance

ACT OF 35 HEN. VIII

thereof by condytes, vautes and pipes to the saide Citye and otherwise to his great travail, labour, payne and also to the great charges and costs of the Cityzens of the saide Citye, which good and profitable pourpose cannot sort to conclusion nor take good effect without the ayde and consent of the Kings Maiestie and of this Court of Parliament" . . . and so on.

The Act goes on to empower the "saide Maire and Commonalitie" to "lay pipes, dig pits, erect Conduites" in the grounds of all persons whatsoever, making satisfaction to the proprietors of the soil. Further power was given to these authorities "To make heades and Vautes" for the conveyance of the same water from any "Sprynge or Sprynges within the said Heath called Hampstead Heath paying the Bysshop of Westminster¹ for the time being at the feast of St. Michael the Archangel one pounce of pepper." The rights of the people of Hampstead were safeguarded by the said Mayor and Corporation, being forbidden to "meddle with the sprynges at the foote of the hille of the saide Heath now closed in with bricke for the ease, commoditie and necessary use of the inhabitants

¹ At this date the Bishop of Westminster was the Lord of the Manor of Hampstead, viz., in 1544. In 1551 the Crown obtained possession of the manor and conferred it upon Sir Thos. Wroth.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

of the Towne of Hampsteade, nor to cause or procure to be done any thyng acte or actes to the impairinge, hurte or diminishing of the water of the same springe at any tyme hereafter." It was further enacted "that it shall and may be lawfull for the said Byshop and his successors to digge fynde and convey from any sprynge or sprynges in any grounde or groundes on the left side of the highwaie leading from the Towne of Hampstede aforesayde towards Hendon water sufficient for the use and commoditie of the same Mannor place the sayde acte or anything therein contened to the contrary notwithstanding." All these works were afterwards carried out by Sir John Hart, Lord Mayor of London, in 1589-90. Efforts were made at the same time "by drawing divers sprynges about Hampstede into one head and course both that the Citye should be served of fresh water in all places of want and also that by such a 'follower' the channel of this brook (the Fleet) should be scoured into the Thames." We learn, however, that this scheme failed, for the "banks gave way so much and so much soil was cast thereby into the stream that it became worse cloyed and choaken than before."

I make no apology for giving these long extracts from ancient records. They are quoted in Park's "History" and by other writers, and to

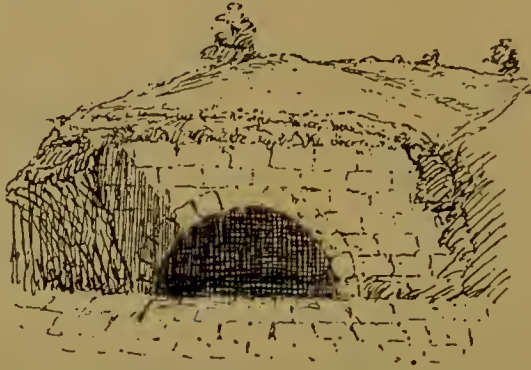
OLD CONDUITS IN HAMPSTEAD

Hampstead people are particularly interesting. From them we learn first that when the work of "erecting" the "new conduites" was begun by the Corporation of London, the inhabitants of Hampstead already possessed "sprynges at the foot of the hyll of the Heath closed in with bricke," with which the new works were not to interfere. The Lord of the Manor's interests were also considered; for he reserved to himself and his successors the right "to digge fynde and convey from any sprynge or sprynges" on the left side of the highway leading from the town of Hampstead towards Hendon sufficient water for the use of the Manor Place. Lastly, there were the new conduits and works carried out by the Corporation for the benefit of the City of London. One would like to know exactly where these three separate conduits were made.

The one for the use of the Manor Place must have been at or near Frognal, as the old Manor Place stood where No. 57, Frognal, now is, and the manor farm buildings existed up to thirty-five years ago in the Field Lane, at the upper part of what is now Fitzjohn's Avenue. All the fields in this part of Hampstead were once part of the manor demesne lands. It is pretty certain, therefore, that the Shepherd's Well, always called in my younger days "The Conduit," is the conduit spoken of as intended for the supply of

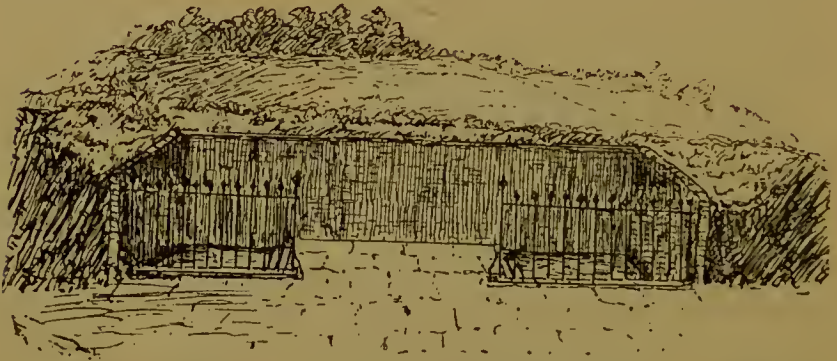
HAMPSTEAD WELLS

water for the Manor Place. I can remember the appearance of the old vault or arch over this conduit before it was reconstructed of brick



THE SHEPHERD'S WELL CONDUIT ABOUT 1840.

about 1844, and it was evidently then a very old piece of masonry, as appears from old pictures



THE SHEPHERD'S WELL CONDUIT AS ALTERED
ABOUT 1844.

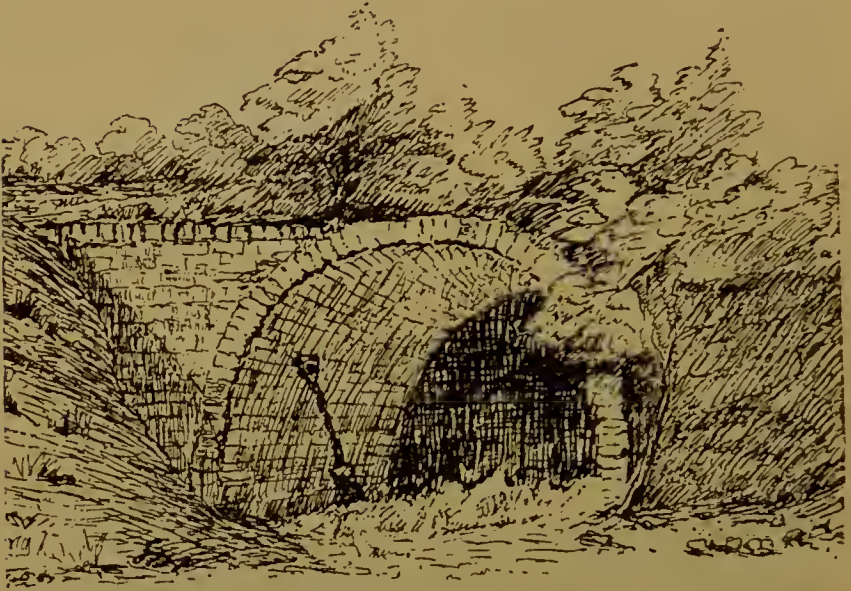
of it. There was another old and smaller conduit with a brick arch over it and a door in front on the west of the Manor House, at the top of the

OLD CONDUIT IN GAYTON ROAD

long North Hall Field by Redington Road, but the door of this conduit was always kept locked, and in my time was never used except by the occupiers of the land in which it stood. I think, therefore, this could not have been the Manor Place conduit. Is it possible now to determine the site of the springs at the "foote of the hylle of the saide Heath" with which the Corporation were by this Act of Parliament forbidden to meddle? I think I can produce some evidence on this point. Up to 1870 there was a deep hollow extending from the back of Gardnor House across an old orchard, now the Gayton Estate. This depression was about 30 feet below the present level of Gayton Road. At the upper end of this valley was a high bank in which was an old brick arch about 4 feet in height and 4 feet wide, apparently an ordinary culvert or sewer, choked at the further end with earth and rubbish. Before filling up this hollow in order to form the new road, the rubbish from under this arch was cleared out. Digging deeper it was found that the walls of this arch extended 4 feet further below the ground, and finally there stood revealed an old conduit with about a foot of clear spring water covering the sandy bottom (there was no invert arch). What made it more evident that this was an old conduit was the discovery of the oak posts and plank of an old

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

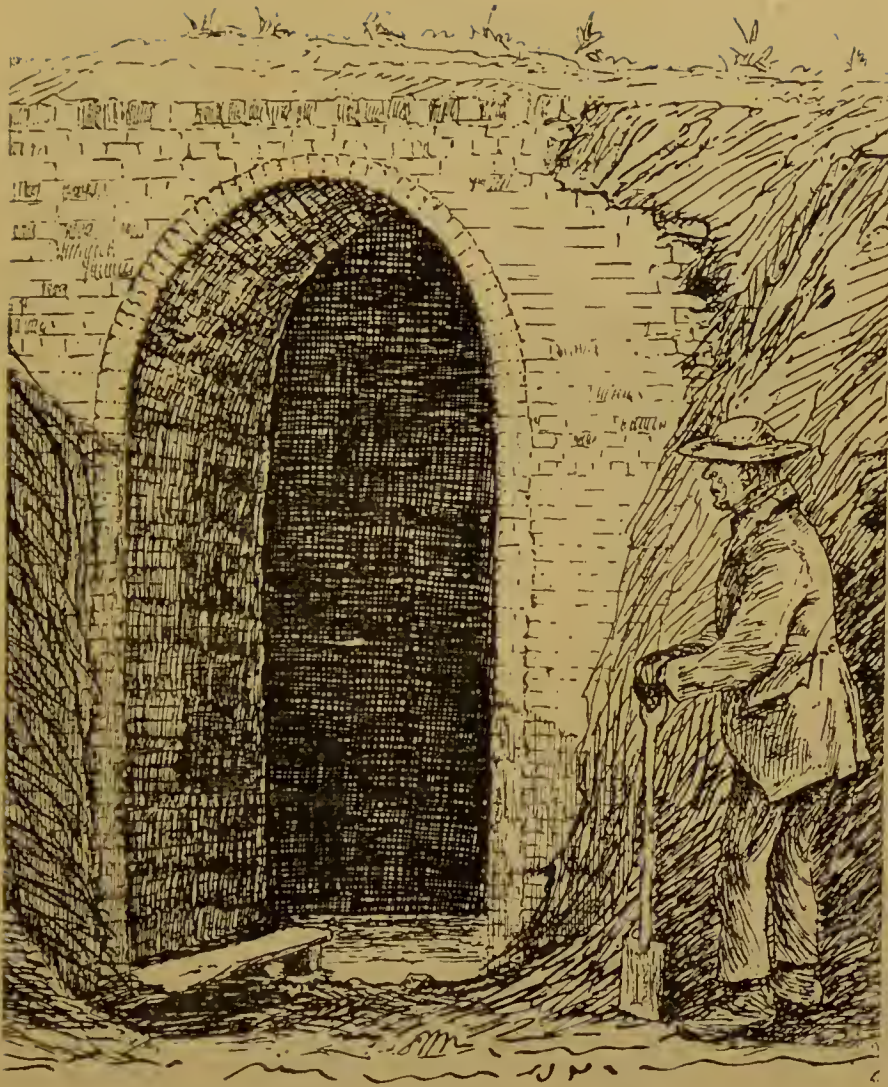
dipping place. I had a great part of this arch removed, when there appeared on the left side of it a similar arch or culvert of equal size¹ and of apparently equal age. The accompanying sketches will give an idea of these old remains.



APPEARANCE OF OLD CONDUIT IN GAYTON ROAD
BEFORE EXCAVATIONS WERE MADE, 1871.

Various persons saw these arches, etc., but work had to be proceeded with, and they are now hidden beneath a good many feet of earth. The water from the spring was finally conveyed by a pipe drain into the new adjacent deep sewer under Gayton Road.

¹ About 8 ft. in height by 4 ft. in width.



OLD CONDUIT DISCOVERED IN GAYTON ROAD IN
1870-71.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

Judging from the size of these arches a considerable amount of water must have flowed through them at one time. One of them, I think, must have covered the springs at the foot of the hill of the Heath used by the inhabitants of the town for their daily supply of water, the most ancient conduit in the neighbourhood, existing long before the date of the Act of Parliament referred to. At this date (1543) Hampstead was only a village, and the dwellings of the inhabitants were almost wholly confined to the borders of the main road or street. The quarter now known as New End with Flask Walk was not built, and the hilly slopes of the Heath came down to this old fountain. New End came into existence much later, when the chalybeate spring more to the north-east was brought into notice; but of this latter spring more anon.

One can with very little effort picture the appearance of this part of the parish in these far-off days. On the one hand was the gently rising ground covered with gorse and bracken just above this old conduit; and lower down the hill the meadows and orchards, intersected by the stream issuing from one or both of the arches on the hill above. Only some thirty-six years ago the course of this rivulet, from Gayton Road almost to the foot of Downshire Hill, was to be

OLD CONDUITS IN HAMPSTEAD

seen, with here and there watercress beds along its course.¹

Long years before the spring in the Conduit Fields became the chief source for the supply of drinking water, the inhabitants of the village had to depend upon this spring at the foot of the hill by the Heath, so conveniently near to their houses. One can easily imagine them, young and old coming to fill their pitchers at the dipping place at all hours of the day, but chiefly at morning or evening. As time went on this conduit became less frequented, and it and the land around it was granted to some copyholder, and so inclosed.² I think that the chief reason why this was so was that the spring water on this side of Hampstead is more or less impregnated with iron, or what is called hard, while that from springs on the west and south-west is much more soft, and not of a chalybeate character. Therefore, when the newer conduit was made by the Lord of the Manor in the Manor Place meadows, the water procurable from thence would be more appreciated, and the older conduit would become more or less neglected. I

¹ Very many years ago an old man, who was then more than eighty years old, told me that as a boy he could remember this rivulet as being quite a brook.

² All other tenements in Hampstead were originally grants from the Lord of the Manor in the same way.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

may be asked for some evidence as to the position of the heads and conduits made by the Corporation of London under the powers conferred upon them by Act of Parliament at this time. There appears to be no information on this point. According to the Act in question it seems to be made clear that these new "Heads and Vaults" were not on the left, but on the right of the road running north from London to Hampstead. They must therefore have been made not far from the old spring in Gayton Road; for it is just at this level below the hill that the most copious springs were found, and towards Well Walk the water was always, and is now, too strongly chalybeate for ordinary use. I am inclined to think that the arch (found to the left of the one in the picture) was the one used as a head or aqueduct for the supply of water for London. This arch or tunnel runs for a considerable distance underground; traces of a part of it, or of a similar arch, have been found even nearer to New End. Another argument for locating these heads and vaults at this spot is the fact that for the conveyance of the water to London by an artificial channel the easiest course to follow would be that of the valley leading from this spot to the Kentish Town Fields, by Willow and South End roads. It is not, however, worth while to follow this matter farther in the absence of more positive evidence.

CHAPTER III

HAMPSTEAD WELLS, PONDS, AND WATERWORKS

History of Hampstead as a source of water supply for London (*continued*), Article by Mr. Ernest Collins.—Ponds on the Heath, when made.—Management of the old waterworks given up by the Corporation of London.—Establishment of the Hampstead Waterworks Company in 1692.—Efforts by this Company to obtain better supply of water by sinking wells at South End Road and Kentish Town Road.—Failure of these efforts.—Works taken over by the New River Company.—Areas of the Hampstead and Highgate ponds.—Roman bath in the Strand said to be fed by springs from Hampstead.—Hampstead laundresses.—The large wells at North End and West Heath.—The Heath as a drying ground.—Cloth Hill.—Niche wells at North End and West End.—Water carriers.—Construction of a reservoir on the Upper Heath in 1854-5.

IN order to continue the history of Hampstead as a source of water supply for London I again quote Mr. Ernest Collins, who, speaking of the Hampstead Ponds, says that “the chain of four ponds on the Heath (now only three) is believed to have been made about the year 1590, but these ponds were enlarged at a later date. The Vale of Health Pond was not made until 1777. These

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

water works remained in the possession of the Corporation of London until 1692, when the Hampstead Water Works Company was established and took over the powers of the Corporation, who leased the ponds and springs to them, and the Company continued to supply the water until the middle of the nineteenth century, the water being delivered in an unfiltered condition just as drawn from the ponds. In 1851 the London Water Companies were compelled by Parliament to properly filter all water supplied to their consumers, and the growth of the district demanding an additional amount of water, the Hampstead Company were under the necessity of seeking a new service of supply. They had, in the year 1833, constructed a well in South End Road. This well, 7 ft. in diameter, was sunk to a depth of 320 ft. to the main sand spring. In 1847, more water being required, a bore was taken down in the chalk to a total depth of 451 ft., no further supply being, however, obtained. At this well an octagonal building in Classic style was erected to accommodate the engine. This building was surmounted by a huge vase, which gained for it, locally, the name of 'The Pepper Box,' but the vase was removed some years ago. Upon the advice of Mr. Prestwich, the eminent geologist, it was decided to sink a well in Kentish Town in the hope of securing a supply of water. The

NEW RIVER CO.'S OPERATIONS

position selected was in Highgate Road, close to the base of Highgate Hill. The work was carried out under the superintendence of Mr. H. P. Bakewell, the Company's engineer, by a French firm of well sinkers, Messrs. Degoupée and Laurent, who had successfully executed some well-known wells upon the Continent. The shaft was sunk through the clay to a depth of 530 ft., from which point boring was continued, the diameter being reduced from 12 to 10 inches, and finishing off 8 in. diameter, to a total depth of 1,302 ft. The work was followed with much interest by the geologists of the time, and resulted in the discovery at a depth of over 1,100 ft. of a series of sand stones,¹ instead of the lower greensand they expected. The consequence of this was that the work was stopped, and no water having been obtained the Hampstead Company were obliged to make an arrangement with the New River Company, who supplied the adjacent district, to take over their works and continue the supply to their consumers from their own sources. The Hampstead Company's area has since formed part of the New River Company's district. The Hampstead Heath well is now disused. The

¹ A core from the bottom of this boring consisting of this sandstone (a much older formation than the greensand) is to be seen at the Geological Museum in Jermyn Street.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

engine erected in 1850 by Messrs. Boulton and Watt was removed in 1870 to the works of the New River Company. The Well House is now used as a turncock's residence. The yield of water from this well was about 200,000 gallons per day. The site of the Highgate Road well was sold a few years ago by the New River Company to the London County Council, and has now been included in the area of the Parliament Hill Fields.

THE HAMPSTEAD AND HIGHGATE PONDS

"Pond No. 1 at Hampstead has recently been filled up and taken over by the London County Council, and a pleasure garden now occupies the site.

	Acres.
Pond No. 2 has an area of	3.761
„ No. 3 has an area of	2.8
„ No. 4, the bathing pond	1.73
„ No. 5, the Vale of Health pond .	2.191
The Viaduct Pond, made in 1846 by the late Sir Thomas Wilson, is now under the guardianship of the London County Council: its area is	0.75

HIGHGATE

"The Hampstead Company drew water from the Highgate Ponds also, a main conducting the

RESERVOIR IN HAMPSTEAD ROAD

water to a point where it joined the main from the Hampstead Ponds.

	Acres.
Pond No. 1, the southern pond of the group, has an area of	3.63
No. 2, the bathing pond	4.567
No. 3, the model yachting pond. . .	4.063
No. 4, in Lord Mansfield's grounds, Ken Wood	1.697
No. 5, " " " " " .	1.768
No. 6, " " " " " .	1.271
No. 7, " " " " " .	1.018
No. 8, " " " " " .	2.081

“The London Reservoir for storing the water from these Hampstead and Highgate ponds occupied a site in Hampstead Road; it was filled up and the site levelled about the year 1885. The houses and buildings in Tolmer's Square now cover the space so gained. After the water from all these ponds ceased to be used in London for household purposes it served as a supply for extinguishing fires. Now it is only used by the Great Northern Railway Company for various non-domestic purposes at their King's Cross station.”

The water in the Roman Bath near King's College in the Strand is still said to come from springs at Hampstead, and the adjoining bath

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

used for three centuries past by the Temple residents was supplied with the water flowing from the more ancient Roman bath just mentioned.¹ The people of Hampstead possessed an abundant supply of water from these numerous springs, until the Corporation of London, in 1540, established their water works and drew off so much water for the needs of the great city. To suffer from a dearth of water during droughts was a new and painful experience for the inhabitants of Hampstead, for from this time, during prolonged dry weather, all the wells in Upper Hampstead became more or less exhausted.

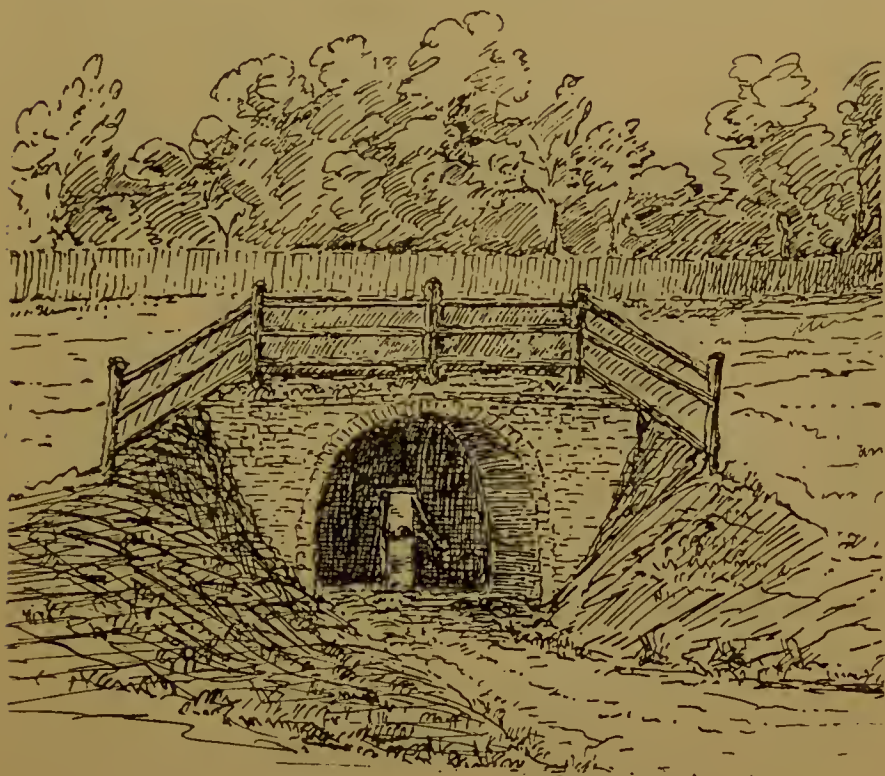
Hampstead has for centuries been the abode of laundresses. It is said that the washing of the Royal Household in the reign of King Henry VIII was done in Hampstead. Laundry work may indeed be said to have been the staple trade of the place. The drying ground was the Heath. The latter was almost covered with gorse and broom, and for the greater part of the week, in fine weather, the Heath, or Common, as it was usually called, was white with the linen spread to dry upon the bushes of gorse, etc., and this was so even so late as 1860.

Holly Hill was formerly called Cloth Hill, no doubt because it was anciently used as a drying

¹ This Templar's bath has recently been demolished.—
ED.

OLD WELLS, ETC.

or bleaching ground. For this laundry work ample supplies of water were needed; these were chiefly derived from two large wells, one at North End and the other at the West Heath by Child's Hill Corner. Many persons gained a

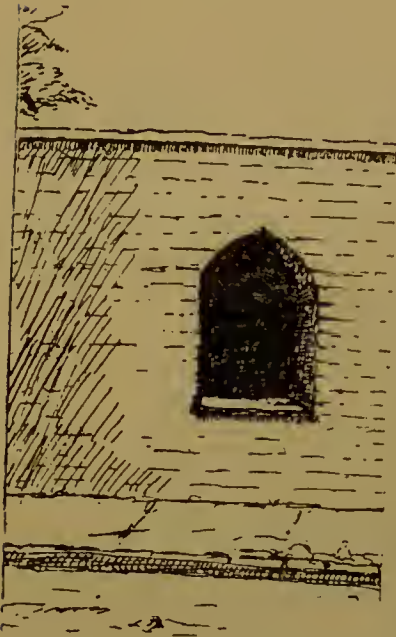


OLD WELL AND PUMP AT BRANCH HILL, *circa* 1850.

living by supplying this water to the various laundries in the neighbourhood, the water being conveyed in water carts at a cost proportionate to the distance. The water from these large wells was unfit for drinking purposes. For drinking, as already stated, almost the only pure water to

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

be had was that from the spring in the Conduit Fields. This spring could only be reached by footpaths, consequently another set of water carriers, using buckets and yokes, retailed this water to consumers in the town. This famous



NICHE WELL AT WEST
END ABOUT 1845.

spring often ran nearly dry in summer with the others on the hill, and then great was the misery which resulted. Pure water was as scarce and precious in those days as it is now in some tropical countries. There were various other public wells in the parish, the water from some being raised by pumps, while others were more shallow, and the water in them could be reached by arched openings in a

vertical wall. One of these wells was near Wild Wood Lodge at North End, and another at West End, by the wall of West End House.

When the New River Company undertook the work of supplying Hampstead with water the reservoir on the Heath was constructed, and the old condition of things as regards a water supply

OLD WELLS, ETC.

ceased to exist. A water famine has now become a very remote contingency.

I trust enough has been said as regards the general history of the wells and springs in Hampstead for several centuries past. I think it



THE TOWN PUMP AND POLICE STATION ABOUT 1850.

will engage the attention of my readers in a greater degree if I now proceed with the main purpose of my work, and give what information I possess with regard to the chalybeate springs in Well Walk—commonly known as the “Hampstead Wells”—which were for a great many years

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so famous and so much resorted to by the inhabitants of London. I must preface my remarks on this topic with an apology for the introduction of some matters with which writers upon the subject have already made us familiar; but I trust that a good deal of what appears in the following pages will be found to throw fresh light upon some points connected with the history of the Hampstead Spa which have hitherto remained more or less obscure.

CHAPTER IV

THE HAMPSTEAD CHALYBEATE SPRINGS

The chalybeate springs at Hampstead.—When first made known.—Grant of land with these springs by the Lord of the Manor to trustees for the benefit of the poor of Hampstead in 1698.—Character of this land.—Description of Hampstead at this date.—Copy of grant to the trustees.—Names of the latter.—Measures taken by them to improve the income from their property.—Their advertisements in London papers.—Sale of the mineral waters by agents.—The Head Spring supplying this water not in Well Walk.—The Bath Pond and Head Spring.—Notices *re* letting the land.—Difficulties in leasing the land for building: how overcome.—Lease to John Duffield in 1701.—Particulars of this lease.—Rights of inhabitants preserved.

THE medicinal properties of these springs must have been known in a greater or less degree to the dwellers in the village of Hampstead for some years before the end of the seventeenth century. The search for a larger and purer supply of water made by the Corporation of London in the reign of Henry VIII, to which allusion has already been made, must have led to the discovery of the chalybeate waters near

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what is now known as Well Walk, if, as is improbable, they were not known before. Well Walk, as we have seen, was then part of the Heath. The older conduits, viz., that by Gayton Road and that in the Conduit Fields, were, of course, in existence, and were the chief sources for the supply of drinking water. The water from the chalybeate spring was so unpleasant to the taste that it never could have been ordinarily used for drinking.¹

It may perhaps be as well to consider what Hampstead generally, and the neighbourhood of this spring, were like at this stage of our history, *i.e.* about 1690. There was the main thoroughfare from London, running through Hampstead, with extensive strips of waste land on either side of it. On the north and north-east the Heath extended nearly up to High Street. The six acres of land, now known as the Wells Charity Estate, were open heath, chiefly swamp, and therefore not of much value. It was useless for grazing or cultivation. A little to the north-west was a very deep bog.² On this portion of boggy land there were probably numerous springs besides the one we are considering. The value of this latter for medicinal purposes was known to local practi-

¹ This old fountain was on the east side of Well Walk. About 1845 the water from it issued in two strong jets.

² This bog was only filled up thirty years ago.

THE CHALYBEATE SPRINGS

tioners at this period, as appears from the manor records. On the 20th of December, 1698, the Earl of Gainsborough (then an infant), his mother the Countess of Gainsborough being his guardian, granted these six acres of land for the benefit of the poor of Hampstead; and in the deed of grant these springs are described as "the Wells lately made there for medicinal waters." The main particulars of this copyhold grant are as follows: "On the 20th of Dec^r. 1698 at a Special Court Baron the Right Honourable Baptist Earl of Gainsborough the Lord of the Manor of Hampstead by and with the consent of the Homage and of his own grace and favour did by Copy of Court Roll grant to Sir Thomas Lane and the 13 other persons therein named all those six acres of waste land lying and being in Hampstead aforesaid in a certain place called Hampstead Heath and parcel of Hampstead Heath aforesaid lying and being about certain medicinal waters called the Wells as the same six acres of land were then divided staked and set out from the other parts of Hampstead Heath aforesaid To have and to hold the said six acres of waste land to the aforesaid Sir Thos. Lane and the 13 several other customary tenants their heirs and assigns at the Will of the Lord according to the Custom of the said Manor by the yearly rent of five shillings and the

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yearly services therefore due and of right accustomed."

Then by an indenture of the same date made by Susannah Lady Gainsborough, mother and guardian of Baptist Earl of Gainsborough before mentioned, then an infant, "The said Sir Tho^s Lane and 13 several other customary tenants, it was declared and agreed that the said grant of the six acres of land was made upon the special Trust that the said Trustees should stand seized thereof for the sole use benefit and advantage of the poor of the Parish of Hampstead successively for ever and should apply the rents and profits in trust for the benefit of such poor for ever."

The fourteen trustees, to whom this grant was made, were copyhold tenants of the manor. Their names may be of interest. They were: Sir Thomas Lane, Francis Kerk, Thomas Foley. Isaac Honywood, Basil Horne, Daniel Dawes, Anthony Burren, Edmond Bouldsworth, Joseph Ashton, John Bunn, Thomas Perryer, William Johnson, Nicholas Reading and Daniel Hoar.

This gift to the poor of Hampstead was of small benefit to them at this time and for many years afterwards. The most valuable feature of the property was the spring in it, and of this fact the trustees seem to have been well aware. Soon after they gained possession of the land they

THE CHALYBEATE SPRINGS

took effective measures to improve the income derivable from it, as is shown by the following advertisement which they caused to be inserted in the "Postman" of April 18th-20th, 1700: "The Chalybeate Waters at Hampstead being of the same nature and equal in virtue with Tunbridge Wells and highly approved of by most of the eminent physicians of the College, as likewise by many of the gentry who formerly used to drink Tunbridge Waters, are by direction of the Trustees of the Wells aforesaid, for the conveniency of those who yearly drink them in London carefully bottled up in flasks and sent to Mr. Phelps Apothecary at the Eagle and Child in Fleet St. every morning at the rate of 3*d.* per flask and if any person desires to have them brought to their own houses, they will be conveyed to them upon their leaving a note at Mr. Phelps' aforesaid at 1*d.* more, and to prevent any person being imposed upon the true waters are nowhere else to be procured unless they are sent for to the Wells at Hampstead, and the said Mr. Phelps to prevent Counterfeits hath ordered his servants to deliver to Each person who comes for any of the waters aforesaid, a sealed ticket viz.: a wolf rampant with 7 Crosslets. Note! the messengers that come for the waters must take care to return the flasks daily."

This attempt to exploit these waters does not

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

appear to have resulted in a great amount of success. The difficulty and expense of carriage to and from London in those days must have been a great bar to an extensive sale of the waters. Mr. Phelps, who farmed the right to sell this medicinal water from the Wells trustees, probably did not therefore make much money by his venture. The old Flask tavern in Flask Walk, where the waters were said to have been bottled, was taken down a few years ago. The new tavern built on the site retains the old title and this and the name of the thoroughfare in which it stands demonstrate to-day how great was the esteem in which the people of London held these Hampstead waters more than two centuries ago. Most persons think that the spring in Well Walk, or Wells Walk, as it was then called, furnished the supply of chalybeate water for this sale in London. This was not so. The water for this purpose was taken from the head spring or pond, some time after called the Bath Pond. This spring and pond were never let by the trustees of that time to the tenants who afterwards leased all the rest of their estate, including the well in Well Walk. This spring and bath pond were situated about 100 yards higher up the hill, and, as proved by frequent references in the old manorial deeds, the trustees for many years retained in their own hands the right of

THE CHALYBEATE SPRINGS

selling this water. All this will appear more plainly later.

The Bath Pond was only filled up about twenty-five years ago. I have often seen it. It was a rectangular pond, about 40 feet long by 20 feet wide, and rather deep, with steep sides; the water in it was very clear. It was in the garden of a house called Willow House, afterwards tenanted by Mr. Simeon Stone.¹ About forty or forty-five years ago (1858) this house was tenanted by a Frenchman and his wife, and

¹ I have already said that there is very frequent mention in the Court Rolls of this Bath Pond, the Cold Bath House and the Bath Houses. The position of the Bath Pond was by the head spring as already stated. The Bath Houses were those recently taken down near the Bickersteth Hall; they were therefore scarcely more than a hundred yards distant from the Bath Pond. How these Bath Houses were supplied with water I have not been able to discover. It is more than probable that they were supplied from wells or springs in the large gardens behind them. These gardens were considerably curtailed when the Christ Church schools were built about 1856. The Cold Bath Pond is spoken of as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century and the Bath Houses a little later. Their existence at this period tends to prove that the frequenters of the wells not only drank the waters, but that part of the regimen prescribed for their benefit included the taking of these cold baths. These were very superior-looking old houses, and were evidently designed for tenants of a very different class from those who afterwards occupied them.

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I remember that the neighbours were greatly scandalized during one summer by their habit of bathing here without proper bathing habiliments. The exact position of this pond will be seen in the accompanying map.

Mr. Phelps seems to have relinquished, or had taken from him, the monopoly of selling the water from this spring, which for the sake of clearness we will denominate the Upper Spring. The trustees having taken into their own hands the matter of the sale of the waters with that of letting the six acres of land, published another advertisement in the "Postman" in April of the year 1700, which ran as follows: "By order of the Trustees of Hampstead Mineral Waters. These are to certify that the Widow Keys is discharged from the Wells and carries no more of the said waters. The Trustees now only employing Mr. Adams a potter at Holborn Bars to deliver the said Mineral waters. If any other person pretends to bring Hampstead waters they are desired to try them so that they be not cheated.

"Also the Trustees will let the said waters with 6 acres of land by lease or yearly rent. Such as have a desire to treat about the same may meet the Trustees at Craddock's Coffee House in Hampstead every Saturday from 10 to 12 in the Morning until the 29th of Sept^r next."

THE CHALYBEATE SPRINGS

Whatever may have been the cause, it is certain that the arrangement with Mr. Phelps and the Widow Keys and others had not been satisfactory. Whether the trustees had at this time any idea that by drawing the attention of the London public to their mineral springs they might make them as famous and as profitable as they afterwards became, or whether they were only thinking of increasing the sale of the water itself, is uncertain. What is certain is that the trustees by issuing such advertisements as the above took a very wise step, and, as we shall see, considerable success soon resulted from it. In common with others I have sometimes wondered how it came about that so soon after the grant to the trustees of this plot of boggy ground a ball or assembly room, pump room, tavern, and other accessories of a fashionable spa were built upon it.

The trustees of a charity could not have embarked in a speculation of the kind; and even if they had been reckless enough to attempt such a thing, they were merely copyhold tenants of the manor, and as such could only therefore have granted at the most a lease for twenty-one years—a term too short to have justified a prudent tenant in building upon their property. How were these initial difficulties overcome? and who was it, after all, who did actually erect the build-

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

ings in question, and, to use a slang expression, "run the show"?

This matter—not a very important one, it may be said—is, however, now explained. By the courtesy of Sir Spencer Maryon Wilson, and by the kind assistance of the Clerk to the Wells Charity, Mr: F. R. D. Monro, a search among the manor deeds and those in the possession of the Wells Trustees has resulted in the discovery of documents which show how the difficulties in question were surmounted, and how means were adopted for leasing the estate to a tenant or tenants who afterwards erected the numerous buildings alluded to. It is true that the means adopted were, as might be expected, somewhat irregular, and that legal difficulties arose afterwards in consequence; but these difficulties were not felt until the Hampstead Spa had been many years in existence.

The advertisement of their property by the trustees appears to have brought forward one John Duffield, who undertook to take the whole of the six acres of land and the springs, excepting the upper spring, upon what was really a kind of building lease or agreement. I have a full copy of this document, but will only quote sufficiently from it to show the more important particulars. It bears date June 2nd, 1701; but Duffield appears to have had possession of the

THE CHALYBEATE SPRINGS

land and to have commenced building operations some time previously. After reciting the terms of the grant of the six acres of land and of the well of purging or mineral waters by the Lord of the Manor to the original fourteen trustees whose names have already been given, this lease states that the said trustees, in consideration of the rent of £50 to be paid yearly by the said John Duffield, "have devised, granted, farmed, and letten, to the said John Duffield and by these presents doe devise grant farm and lett all that well or spring of purging or mineral waters aforesaid together with the six acres adjoining and their appurtenances unto the said John Duffield, from the feast day of the annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary for the term of 21 years," etc. etc. It was further agreed that "the Inhabitants of the Town of Hampstead, their children or servants should be at liberty to come and repaire to the said well or spring of purging or mineral waters at any times between the hours of five and twelve of the Clock in the forenoon and there to drink and therefrom to carry away soe much of the said purging waters gratis as they shall respectively have occasion to drink in the said Town and parish, and the said John Duffield, his Exors etc. shall and will within the times aforesaid peaceably and quietly permit and suffer the said

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

inhabitants their children and servants as aforesaid to have free liberty, ingress, egress and progress to and from the said purging springs and to fetch and carry away the waters gratis as aforesaid without any account or payment to be made therefore to the said John Duffield his Exors etc. etc. or any of them the persons soe fetching the same not conveying any of the said waters out of the Parish aforesaid." The rights of the inhabitants with regard to the use of this water were thus recognized, and it is also plain that this water was prized by them for its medicinal properties. The restrictions as to the hours during which the Hampstead residents could come for the waters were necessary in order to avoid interference with the visitors to the Spa from London. There must have been some apprehension of trouble from the former farmers of the waters, for it is further stated in this lease "that neither Elizabeth Keys Widow, Michael Lydall or either of their Children, servants or agents shall have or take any advantage or benefit by the aforesaid, but that they the said Elizabeth Keys, Michael Lydall their children, servants or agents are hereby Excluded from any liberty of coming into or upon the premises and fetching or carrying away any of the waters there without leave first had from the said John Duffield his Exors etc. etc. during the continuance of this present

THE CHALYBEATE SPRINGS

demise anything mentioned to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding." Further, John Duffield himself was precluded from "farming or letting any of the water mineral or otherwise arising within the before demised premises without the consent of the said Trustees for that purpose obtained." In other words, the trustees kept in their own hands the right of selling the water from this and the other springs on their estate. Some few buildings must have already existed upon the land before the date of John Duffield's taking possession, because the latter covenanted "to repair well and sufficiently all the houses, buildings hedges gates fences enclosures which now are or during this demise shall be erected upon the said demised premises." He further covenanted to expend the sum of £300 within the first three years of the term in building and in improvements, and he was to give the trustees a true and faithful account as to how this money had been spent. The mention of such an insignificant sum proves, I think, that at this time the lessee had no idea of building to such an extent as he so soon afterwards did. Lastly, the lease contained a clause by which the lessee fulfilling all these conditions, upon surrendering his first lease at the end of the first seven years, was to have a new lease granted him for a further term of twenty-one years. A similar arrangement

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

was, I find, repeated more than once afterwards. Thus the two great difficulties which stood in the way of the trustees improving their property were, for the time, overcome. I have quoted thus fully from this lease to John Duffield, because it throws so much light upon the early history of the Wells.

CHAPTER V

HISTORY OF THE WELLS

Erection of various buildings at Wells Walk by Duffield and his associates.—Position of these buildings.—The Hampstead Wells or Spa brought to the notice of the public by Dr. Gibbons and other medical practitioners.—The Great or Long Room.—Popularity of the Wells.—Advertisements in the London press.—Of the concerts and other entertainments.—Mr. W. Luffingham associated with Duffield in his operations.—Duffield demises his interest in the property to Luffingham.—Irregularity of this demise.—Interests of Hampstead poor overlooked.—Bad repute of the Wells.—Consequent decline in its popularity as a place of entertainment.—Duffield and Luffingham in difficulties.—Suits in Chancery instituted.—Extracts from the various pleadings in these suits.

JOHN DUFFIELD seems very soon to have realized the value of the concession made to him, and quickly got to work in erecting buildings, etc. Whether it was by a mere coincidence or otherwise cannot now be ascertained, but at this time the new proprietor of the chalybeate spring obtained valuable assistance from the medical faculty through the latter making known

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

to the general public the medicinal virtues of the Hampstead waters. Dr. Gibbons, a local medical practitioner, loudly proclaimed their efficacy, and was himself, it would seem, really convinced of their value. The few buildings which Duffield found around the wells were slight structures, probably only sheds, and they were on the east side of the Wells Walk. On the bare upward slope to the west, at about 100 yards distance from the wells, was the upper spring or head water, with the Bath Pond. The space to the east below this slope was more level, and better fitted therefore for building purposes; and it was upon this portion of the estate that building operations were begun. The first important erection upon this site was that known sometimes as the Great Room, as the Long Room, the Assembly Room, and the Pump Room. All these names have at one time or other been given to the large room in Well Walk. Some thirty years afterwards another set of buildings in another thoroughfare more to the westward came into being, and they also were designated as the Long Room, the Ball Room, and the Assembly Rooms. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that in all the histories of the Hampstead Wells given by modern authors great confusion has arisen as to the precise buildings indicated by these titles. This difficulty, however, will disappear if we remember

ERECTION OF BUILDINGS

that these names were borne, at two separate periods, by two sets of entirely different buildings, the one set only coming into being years after the older buildings had either vanished or had been used for quite other than their original purposes. In support of this assertion I shall adduce documentary evidence which will, I hope, be considered conclusive.

Duffield having obtained the pecuniary help of others, built a large room as an assembly or ball room, at the north end of which was a large basin for the use of those taking the mineral waters. This part of the building seems to have been divided by a partition from the other, and was known as the Pump Room. It measured about 36 feet by 30 feet, leaving a larger apartment of 60 feet by 36 feet as a ball or assembly room. A tavern, a chapel known as Sion Chapel, and various shops were next built. Gardens were laid out, and these included a large bowling green. The whole became a very flourishing and popular health resort and place of amusement. Frequent references are made to the new Hampstead Wells or Spa by contemporary writers, and to the amusements provided for visitors to the Spa. The character of the entertainments furnished for the delectation of these guests was in keeping with the character of the visitors themselves. All this is a matter of history with which my readers are

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doubtless conversant. I shall not therefore quote more than is necessary from the well-known writers of the period who describe these scenes so graphically.

It was the object of Duffield and his associates to make hay while the sun shone. Their tenure was short, and the legal formalities which should have accompanied it had not been properly observed. For a time all went merrily. The following advertisement appeared in the "Postman" of August 14th, 1701: "At Hampstead Wells, on Monday next being the 18th of this instant August will be performed a Consort of bothe vocal and instrumental Musick with some particular performance of both kinds by the best masters, to begin at 10 o'clock precisely. Tickets will be delivered at the Wells for 1^s per ticket and dancing in the afternoon for 6^d per ticket to be delivered as before."

Again, in the same paper on the 9th of September following, it is announced: "In the Great Room at Hampstead Wells on Monday next being the 15th inst. Exactly at 11 o'clock of the forenoon will be performed a Consort of vocal and instrumental Musick by the best Masters, and at the request of several gentlemen, Jemmy Bowen will perform several songs and particular performances on the violin by two several masters. Tickets to be had at the Wells and at St. Stephen's Coffee

POPULARITY OF THE WELLS

House in King St. Bloomsbury at 1^s per ticket
There will be dancing in the afternoon as usual."

Similar advertisements continued to appear in the London press for some years; in one of May 5th-8th, 1702, it is notified that "the tickets will be 1^s by reason that the room is so large." This, apparently, was given as a reason for the cheapness of these tickets.

In another advertisement of slightly later date it is stated that "1^s will be the price of the tickets by reason that the room will hold 500 persons." From these extracts it appears that John Duffield had got possession of the land and built the Great Room some time before he had got his formal lease; and this would practically have added to the length of his holding. It is not an unusual thing in the present day for a considerable interval to elapse between the approval of a draft lease and its formal engrossment; and two hundred years ago lawyers probably did their work very slowly.

The citizens of London came in crowds to the Hampstead Wells and indulged freely in the amusements which the place afforded. These entertainments continued to be more or less popular for a period of some twenty years. It is quite outside the scope of this work to attempt to depict the public dancing, the gambling, and other questionable pastimes which are said to have been indulged in at this time by those who

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

professedly came to the Wells in search of health. The allusions to these unpleasant facts are very frequent in the literature of the time. I am rather desirous of throwing what light I can upon matters of general interest which have hitherto escaped the notice of writers of Hampstead history.

Those who came to the Wells purely for health and recreation followed pretty much the same rules as persons do when visiting a spa in the present day. Some visitors, no doubt, took lodgings in the neighbourhood, but the larger number came from London each morning. They must have started early, for the means of locomotion were very limited as well as expensive. The company arriving at, or being already, in Hampstead, repaired to the Pump Room in the early morning and took the waters. At 10 a.m. such as chose attended the "Consorts" of music in the Great Room, where also in the afternoon and evening there was music, dancing, and card playing. Those who preferred outdoor amusements frequented the bowling green or strolled over the Heath to Mother Hough's and Ken Wood. The period of prosperity lasted for some years, and Duffield and his associates must, during this time, have reaped a considerable harvest from their venture; but the Wells now began to decline in popularity. As early as 1709 the tavern and raffling shops, etc., had acquired a bad re-

THE WELLS DESERTED

putation. The Wells had, in fact, become the recognized haunt of bad characters of both sexes and a public scandal. A few years later they became quite deserted.

It will be necessary here to make a digression in order to allude to those who were associated with Duffield in his scheme. He was clearly possessed of but slender resources. The £300 which he covenanted to lay out was obviously insufficient for carrying out his building operations. He therefore procured the help of a Mr. William Luffingham. The latter really supplied the funds, or the greater portion of them, for building the Long or Great Room and other edifices. Duffield afterwards demised to Luffingham all his interest in the six acres of land and the buildings upon it at a rack rent of £450 per annum, a premium of £100 being also paid by the latter to Duffield.

It was further agreed that upon his paying an additional £500 to Duffield, and laying out upon the property another sum of £1,000, the latter should grant Luffingham an additional term of twenty-one years at the same rent of £450. This remarkable document is dated August 19th, 1719. The description of the property included in this lease is thus given: "The Tavern, The Coffee Room, Dancing Room, Tap House, Raffling Shops, Bowling Green, also a messuage and three little fields, the spring of Mineral

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

Waters and all other gardens and buildings in the possession of the said John Duffield." Sion Chapel seems to have altogether disappeared at this date. Neither the consent of the Lord of the Manor nor that of the Trustees of the Wells Charity had been obtained for this demise, and trouble was therefore in store for the parties concerned. It will naturally be asked at this juncture what benefit the poor of Hampstead were getting from the bequest made to them by the Earl of Gainsborough twenty years before—apparently none whatever. Duffield had paid none of the £50 annual rent due from him. Most of the trustees had meanwhile died, and those living had been lax in enforcing payment by legal means, for which, indeed, they had no funds. It is doubtful if even the annual quit rent of 5s. had been paid to the Lord of the Manor; and, still further to complicate matters, Luffingham had in his turn granted sub-leases or mortgaged his interest in the property to persons who had advanced money to him. Such a state of affairs naturally became intolerable, and led to protracted litigation. In order to arrest the declining popularity of the Wells, Luffingham resorted to various expedients, and to obtain funds for these he borrowed in turn from one Dennis Byron, Joseph Rous, and William Hoar, and it was finally owing to the action taken by these latter

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS

persons that three separate bills in Chancery were filed on November 24th, 1726—*i.e.*, three separate lawsuits were set on foot; the poor of Hampstead, represented by the overseers, being parties to one of the suits. I do not know how to explain the positions of the several parties better than by giving extracts from the pleadings in these suits. On behalf of the overseers it is related that “John Duffield to serve his own private ends and to raise money for himself as is pretended made over all his right title interest in and to the said premises or greatly incumbered the same to William Luffingham, Dennis Byron Joseph Rous William Hoare, some or one of them and by combination and confederacy together and under pretence thereof they or some of them now are and for some years past have been in possession of the said six acres of land with the buildings erected thereon and other thereto belonging and receive the rents and profits thereof without paying the arrears of the said £50,” etc., etc. . . .

“And the said Confederates doo take upon them to lett and sett the same and erect and make new buildings at their own will and pleasure without the direction and concurrence of the said Trustees and they act in such a manner as if they were the absolute owners of the inheritance of the said premises belonging to the said charity

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

by means whereof the Trustees refusing to act in the said Trust, and of the said John Duffield delivering over the possession into the hands of his Confederates the said W. Luffingham, Dennis Byron, Joseph Rous and William Hoare, the said Trust is wholly obstructed and the poor of the Parish know not of whom to demand either the arrears or growing payment of the said fifty pounds, nor do they know in whom the legal Estate of and in the several terms claimed by the Confederates is vested," etc., etc.

The above extract speaks for itself, and it seems strange that such a condition of affairs should have been allowed to exist for so long a period. The explanation is, no doubt, that there were no funds available from the trust, and the remaining trustees did not care to embark in litigation.¹ The Lord of the Manor's interest was small; but he ought to have interfered. He was, however, very young, and his steward evidently cared nothing about the matter. The overseers, or whoever instigated them to commence legal proceedings, deserve to be remembered; for they boldly performed their arduous duty, and the poor of Hampstead have reason to remember them with gratitude.

¹ Of the fourteen original trustees no less than eleven at this date were dead. The survivors were Daniel Hoare, Samuel Dawes, and Anthony Burren.

CHAPTER VI

HISTORY OF THE WELLS—*continued*

Tradition regarding the Head Spring: its truth proved.

—Water from this spring taken by John Vincent the elder and laid on to his brewery in High Street.—John Vincent the younger made one of the defendants in one of the lawsuits.—Mr. Sherard: his misbehaviours as recorded.—The Long Room converted into a chapel in 1725.—Further extracts from the pleadings, etc., in the several lawsuits.—Explanation of the causes which led to this legal action having been so long deferred.—Judgements in these suits decreed by the Court of Chancery in 1730.

THERE used to be a tradition in Hampstead that the Town Brewery in the High Street was at one time supplied with water from the upper spring head or pond near Well Walk. I heard this more than once from old inhabitants, but it seemed such an improbable thing that I did not quite think it could have been true; for not only was the distance between the pond and the brewery considerable, but the water must have been most unfit for the purpose. I have several times unexpectedly come across

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documentary evidence proving the truth of a popular tradition in Hampstead, and what I am about to relate is a case in point.

It has already been stated that the disposal of the water from this upper spring was retained in the hands of the trustees. The sale of the water in flasks went on for some time, but not much income was obtained in this way. Shortly after the grant of a lease of the rest of their property to John Duffield the trustees entertained the idea of laying on water from this spring to the town, but they were practically without funds for such a work. The Manor Courts at this time took into their hands many duties which now would be performed by our Borough Council or by the police. In their difficulty about laying on this water to the town therefore the trustees apparently sought the help of the Court Baron, and by a copy of the Court Roll of this Court held in 1700 it "was ordered that the spring by the purging wells (not the Well Walk spring) be brought into the Town of Hampstead at ye Parish Charge and y^t ye money and profit arising therefrom be applied to the easing of ye poor's rates hereafter to be made." This was a very doubtful mode of benefiting the poor. At any rate, the rich would have shared the profit to a far greater extent than their poorer neighbours.

JOHN VINCENT

This scheme was carried out eventually, but not by the trustees, nor does it appear that the poor derived the smallest benefit from it.

One John Vincent was at this time the owner of the Hampstead Brewery, and he obtained leave to lay on water from the pond to various houses in the town, and he supplied his own brewery in the same way. He afterwards levied a kind of water rate of his own upon the householders thus supplied. Again the poor were forgotten; they had to be content with the privilege of drinking, at their own cost, the beer made from the water. John Vincent's free and easy way of dealing with the Wells Charity property was quite in keeping with the methods adopted by Duffield and his associates. After he had done this work, not before, Vincent tried to obtain a lease of this water property. He posed as a public benefactor, and stated that he had expended £200 upon the undertaking, and that he therefore "ought" to have such a lease granted him. Subsequently the terms of a lease were arranged; he was to have a lease of the water for twenty-one years at a rent of £15 per annum, and he was to pay £1 per annum to one Russell for having laid these water pipes through his land (now the Gayton Estate).¹ The lease was

¹ In 1870, while the work of constructing Gayton Road was in progress, these old pipes were discovered and

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

never granted to him, or to his son who succeeded him, until a quarter of a century afterwards; but this was a circumstance which did not cause him the smallest inconvenience, for he paid no rent during this long time, although he had the use of this water. A reckoning day did come eventually, and John Vincent the younger had to make good his father's deficiencies, for he was made one of the parties in the Chancery suits to which reference has been made. In the pleadings in this suit it is related that "John Vincent also refuses to discover his right or title to the said pond or to pay the arrears due from him."

Referring again to the other defendants in the suits instituted by the overseers and others, I must ask pardon for again quoting at length from the copy of the pleadings. Incidentally therein is recorded the date when the great room was first converted into a chapel, besides other matters which are of interest. Park and Howitt both make this date 1733; but, as will be seen, this is an error. It is related that the defendant Luffingham pleaded that, being "in possession of the six acres and having built the *Long Room* therein which not answering—with the consent of Byron who had an interest therein—proposed to demise the Long Room for a long term of years to taken up for some 800 ft. in length. They led straight from Well Walk towards the Brewery in the High Street.

THE LONG ROOM MADE A CHAPEL

William Hoare another defendant with the intent that Hoare should convert the same into a Chapel," and thereupon articles were entered into on the 25th of May, 1725, between Luffingham and Hoare, reciting that Hoare at Luffingham's request had undertaken at his own charges to fit up the Long Room for a Chapel, and to set up a pulpit and pews therein, and to provide a preacher, etc., etc. In consideration whereof Luffingham demised the Long Room with the goods therein unto Hoare for twenty-one years at a peppercorn rent, subject to a proviso that when Hoare should be reimbursed his charges with interest and £42 then due to him, the demise should be void and the Long Room, pulpit, pews, etc., should be again delivered to Luffingham. It was also agreed that Luffingham should not be liable to pay the charges of fitting up the Long Room in case the same should not answer, but Hoare was to run the risk thereof. The work of converting the Long, or Great, Room into a chapel was thereupon carried out at this date, viz., 1725. It is related further that Hoare began the work, but, being in want of money, borrowed £380 of Byron, which Byron calling for and Hoare being unable either to pay or finish the Chapel, they together assigned their interest to one Rous, the work done by Hoare to the Long Room and to a little dwelling house adjoining being valued at £982 5s. 6d.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

From the foregoing extract we learn several particulars, viz., first, when the conversion of the Long or Great Room into a chapel took place; next, that it was a purely commercial speculation; and, lastly, that this building was chiefly known as the "Long Room" at the time. The little house was at the north end of this Long Room, and was years after inhabited by Mr. Poulter, grandfather of the present Mr. Thomas Poulter of North End Lodge, and afterwards by Mr. Thomas Toller. On reading the records of the transactions connected with the first twenty-five years' history of the Wells estate, one cannot help being struck with the utter lack of ordinary business ability on the part of most of the parties concerned. Duffield, Luffingham, and the two Vincents, no doubt, derived considerable profit from their several undertakings, but not so the poor of Hampstead, nor the Lord of the Manor. Of the fourteen original trustees only three were living, and of these two refused to act. The Lord of the Manor, Mr. William Langhorne James, was a minor, his trustee being Dr. Warren. The steward of the manor at this time was a Mr. Sherard, and it was owing to his negligence that the Lord of the Manor did not sooner intervene to put an end to the irregular proceedings which continued for so many years without check. Among the records of the manor there is a paper giving an account

CHARGES AGAINST MR. SHERARD

of the Several Misbehaviours of Mr. Sherard, steward and receiver of the rents of the Manor of Hampstead." These are some of the charges therein enumerated: "Notholding general Courts but once a year so that if any person wants to be admitted before that time they must pay him two guineas for a special Court besides his extravagant fees as all persons who are admitted at such special Courts, which are often three or four at a time which not being for the benefit of the Lord is a forfeiture.

"Not causing the quit rents to be received for six years past. Permitting Mr. Vincent, Brewer to convey water to his Brewhouse from the Well called the Cold Bath in pipes laid in the Lord's ground without his permission, or paying any rent for the same, for which he receives, as I am informed, so much annually. Permitting pounds (ponds) to be continued upon the Waste from whence water is conveyed to London without permission or paying anything for the same.

"Not examining into the title of the Parish of Hampstead which they pretend to have to the wells there for which Mr. Duffield hath a lease from them and should pay them fifty pounds per annum, and hath lately let to one Luffingham for £400 per annum besides a fine of about £400 and not carrying on the Chancery suit begun in the time of Sir William Langhorne against the

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

Parish and Trust of the said Wells. Memorandum—know by what authority the Trustees of the Wells let Mr. Duffield a lease and Duffield let the same to Luffingham, whether they or either of them had the Lord's License for so doing—if not, supposing the grant to them to be good whether the same is not become forfeited for want of such license to let leases thereof." Other "Misbehaviours" of Mr. Sherard are given, but I have only quoted those which have to do with our history. It seems plain that it was chiefly owing to the neglect of Mr. Sherard that the Lord of the Manor did not sooner assert his rights. When at last the latter did so, there was a battle royal. Luffingham's mortgagees discovered that they had advanced their money upon very slender security, and took legal action against him and Duffield. The Lord of the Manor took similar steps to assert his rights, and the overseers of the poor did the same in order to save the Charitable Trust from forfeiture. The only remaining trustee of the original fourteen was Daniel Hoare,¹ all the others having either died or refused to act. The Attorney-General was technically a plaintiff in the latter suit, probably because the trustees as a body had ceased

¹ I am informed that this Mr. Hoare was not a relative of the well-known family who afterwards lived in Hampstead.

THE CHAPEL IN DANGER

to exist. The newly-made chapel appears to have been in great danger of being destroyed as a place of worship, for the Attorney-General in his charges against those opposed to him in this suit relates: "That there being a Great Room or building erected upon part of the said six acres of land which is now made use of for a Chapel where Divine Service is performed; the said Confederates or some of them threaten that they will take away and convert to their own use the several pews, organ, pulpit cloth, Bible, Common Prayer book, Communion plate and other utensils belonging to the same, which they ought not to move or take away until the said arrears of the said fifty pounds are paid," etc., etc., etc., and that "the said Confederates refuse to discover their right or title."

This series of lawsuits lasted for four years, and it was not until November 3rd, 1730, that judgement was decreed by the Court of Chancery. It is often a complaint that the machinery of the law in England is not only costly when put in motion, but is slow and cumbrous. As a rule, however, it does its work well in the end, and so it happened in this case, or rather in all these cases. On the date in question it was decreed, That the Lord of the Manor should appoint thirteen new trustees, copyhold tenants of the Manor of Hampstead, thus making up the original

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

number of fourteen; that when the number of the trustees should be reduced to five the Lord should, with the approbation of the Master in Chancery, nominate nine others, paying a reasonable fine. This re-established the Trust.

CHAPTER VII

HISTORY OF THE WELLS—*continued*

Particulars and effects of these judgements.—The Wells Charity Trust re-established and rights of the poor restored.—John Duffield's house.—The houses in Well Walk occupying the site of Sion Chapel.—Raffling shops, tavern, etc.—New End: the bath houses.—The Wells deserted.—Attempts by local medical men to revive their popularity.—These attempts fairly successful.—Want of the usual adjuncts of a spa again felt.—Long Room No. 2 converted into a house of entertainment; additions made, and new Assembly and Ball Room built by owners of this property.—Extracts from the records of the manor with regard to the new Long Room and Assembly Room.—The Wells House.

JOHN VINCENT was ordered to pay £322 for arrears of rent due from him, and the water he had so long been using was to be let to the best bidder after proper advertisement in the "Gazette," which appeared Nov. 10-14, 1730.

John Duffield was to have his lease confirmed on payment of £575 for arrears of rent. If Duffield failed to do this within a given time, Byron was to have the option of doing so for a period of six months. Lastly, if Byron failed to take up the lease, Rous was to have the option of doing so;

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

but if none of these exercised this option, a writ of ejectment was to follow, and the trustees were to be put in possession, subject to a demise from the Lord of the Manor. Matters were finally settled by the lease being granted to Byron. Rous was concerned in this, for he is mentioned by Park and by others as the person who was the first owner of the building as a chapel. The rights of the poor were thus restored, and the charity trust re-established on a firm basis. Duffield and Luffingham were the persons who had profited most by their possession of the Wells property during the time that the Wells were popular and so much frequented. It was right, therefore, that they should have been made to yield up some of their gains. While Duffield was in possession of the estate he obtained several grants of portions of the waste land adjoining, one such portion was that now occupied by Foley House. It is stated in one of the records of the manor, dated 1706, "That John Duffield hath built himself a good bricke house at a cost of £1,000." From the description given of the plot I think it almost certain that this house, or a great part of it, is still standing, and is the house known as Foley House.¹ It is certain that this is

¹ This house and land were not long held by Duffield. They came into the possession of the trustees, whether by purchase or otherwise is not known.

OLD HOUSES IN WELL WALK

the oldest building on the Wells estate, now that the old chapel has been taken down. Like so many other old houses, it has been altered and added to. The old weather-boarded stable belonging to this house is the only building of this kind of construction left in Well Walk. At one time there were several other such structures there.

I have not been able to determine exactly the date when the row of houses between the great room and the tavern was built; but it was not many years after the conversion of the great room into a chapel, when Joseph Rous became the owner of the property, probably about 1730 to 1740. These houses do not appear to be so old, but on closer inspection by anyone used to such matters, it will be found that their front walls have been encased in yellow brick, and that porches have been added.¹ Some of the brickwork of the back walls of these houses is much older—so old, in fact, that the back walls of two of the houses have had to be rebuilt quite recently. On the land now covered by these houses were placed formerly the raffling shops, tea-houses, Sion Chapel, and other buildings of slight construction, which were in 1700 or 1701 hastily put up for the pleasure or convenience of the fre-

¹ The porches were added by the Wells trustees only some forty-five years ago.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

quenters of the Wells. Wells Walk, as it was at this time called, became a quiet and respectable quarter of Hampstead. The crowds of gay pleasure-seekers and gamblers had long since forsaken it and departed to other places, where the riotous amusements they loved were still to be found. One result of the patronage of the Wells by the citizens of London was that a great impetus was given to building in this part of the parish. New End dates from this period. Frequent reference is made in the old documents, which for the purposes of this work I have studied, to the "Bath House" and the "Bath Houses" at New End. These were the old houses only quite recently pulled down near the Bickersteth Memorial Hall,¹ in order to make room for the excellent blocks of artisans' dwellings built by Mr. Marnham last year. In consequence of the building of so many houses in the early part of the eighteenth century, Hampstead became changed from a village to a moderate-sized town. The medicinal spring was still valued by seekers after health. The large bowling green remained an attraction for some of these visitors and for the inhabitants

¹ The end house nearest Christ Church Road was for many years occupied by Mrs. Clarke, the mistress of the Duke of York. Park mentions this, I think, but I have been told it by a friend who knows one of Mrs. Clarke's descendants.

EFFORTS TO REVIVE THE WELLS

living near. Soon after the settlement of the batch of lawsuits alluded to, attempts were made to revive the reputation of the Wells as a health resort; and, as was the case thirty years before, the local medical practitioners took part in this movement. Dr. Gibbons, who had been the first physician of note to draw attention to the waters at Hampstead, continued to advocate their use until his death in 1725. Several other doctors of lesser note followed his example in praising these waters; but it was not until 1734 that a serious effort was made to revive their waning reputation. In this year Dr. Soames, a Hampstead resident, wrote a book entitled "Hampstead Wells, or Directions for drinking the Waters." In this work his keen advocacy of this matter is only equalled by the unsparing terms in which he condemns the drinking of tea. He says: "I hope the drinking of tea will be retrenched, which if continued must bring a thousand ills upon us and upon generations after us. The method of taking the waters is best left to the Faculty, with whom Hampstead is abundantly supplied." This recommendation is wonderfully like that to be met with at modern Spas. Next follows some comforting advice to smokers of tobacco: "Those who take tobacco may do it with all the safety in the world, but let them have a regard not to offend the Company, es-

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pecially the ladies, who cannot well relish that smoke with their waters," etc., etc. The author concludes by remarking, "that upon the whole these waters are as good if not better than any in these parts of Britain," and that "the Hampstead Spring may justly be called the *inexhaustible Fountain of Health*." The exertions of this redoubtable champion were not without some effect, and Dr. Soames and his medical brethren in Hampstead had the gratification of giving to a new set of patients advice on the subject of "Taking the Waters." These visitors to Hampstead were mostly people of a different sort from those who had patronized the Wells in the earlier days. These later visitors probably either were—or imagined they were—suffering from various ailments. At first the only provision made for or needed by them was medical advice and the chalybeate water itself. The Great Room with its pump room and fountain was now a place of worship. The raffling shops and card-rooms, etc., had either been replaced by a row of new houses or were dismantled and deserted. There was still the tavern and the bowling-green, and these provided in some sort what recreation was needed. The fountain, basin, and fittings had been removed from the great or long room, and apparently fitted up in a building called the Wells House, in a position near the tavern, and

NEW ASSEMBLY ROOMS BUILT

drinkers now seem to have taken the waters in this new building, which was, of course, much nearer to the New Assembly Rooms.

Very soon the want of the usual adjuncts to a spa began to be again felt. Not only did the visitors to the Wells from London make such accessories appear necessary, but there were now living in Hampstead a number of well-to-do inhabitants, and they, too, looked with favour upon the idea of providing a new long room, a ball and assembly rooms, etc. It was not long, therefore, before such were forthcoming, partly by new erections, and partly, perhaps, by the adaptation of existing buildings. There was no space for this second set of public buildings on the old site in the Wells Walk, without destroying the chapel, etc. Room was found for them, therefore, a little farther to the west in the same thoroughfare. This part of the thoroughfare until 1800 had no specific name. From that date until 1870 it was called Weatherall Place, and since then the whole length of this road has been designated Well Walk. For convenience sake we will speak of the site of the new set of public rooms as Weatherall Place. I can give only approximately the date when these buildings were first built or converted into places of public entertainment. They, like those of earlier date, were the outcome of private speculation, and were not built

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

by public subscription. The earliest mention of these premises which I have been able to find occurs in the Manor Court Rolls for 1727.

In this document the premises are spoken of as a "newly erected building formerly in the possession of Thos. Digby." No mention is made of the purpose of the building, as is the case in nearly every subsequent reference to the premises in the Court Rolls. It is pretty certain that this building is that now standing and known as the Long Room (Long Room No. 2 it should be called). The building is spoken of as "newly erected," but this term might be applied to a building some years old.

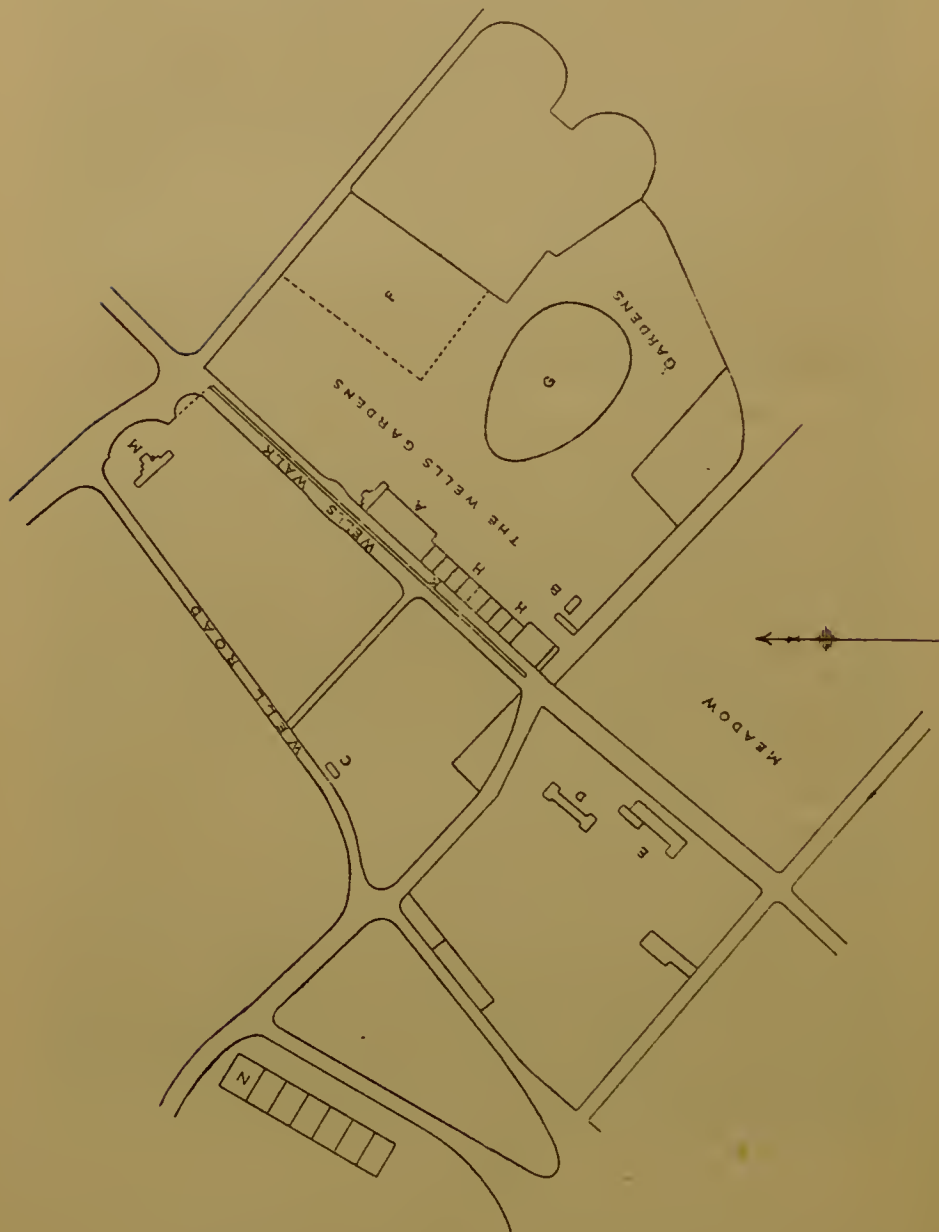
I may here mention that these premises so frequently described in the Court Rolls include the whole site now covered by Weatherall House, 7 and 9, Well Walk, Burgh House, the stabling and gardens in rear in Well Road, and land also on the east side of the road. If, therefore, there were any other buildings of importance upon this property at the above date, viz., 1727, mention of them would, in accordance with the usual practice, appear in any such formal description of the premises.

The next similar mention of this property occurs in a record of 1734, when Henry Vipont was admitted to it on the surrender of Edward Lane; but as again no mention is made of the

SECOND PERIOD OF THE HISTORY

buildings as a Long Room, Assembly, or Ball Room, it is fair to infer that they did not then exist as such. But in 1753 the admission of Bridget Vipont on the will of Henry Vipont is thus recorded: "And the Homage also present that there had been erected and built upon the said premises another Messuage or tenement fronting the way leading from Flask Walk to Hampstead Wells and also a new room called the Assembly Rooms." This new messuage was no doubt the large Georgian room, now part of Weatherall House, and the other new room was the block now known as Nos. 7 and 9, Well Walk. The existing Long Room is certainly of older date than 1753. It was apparently only converted into a place of entertainment, and was not a new building, while the other buildings were new at or shortly before this date. We can therefore say that this new set of Assembly Rooms came into being as such at some date between the years 1734 and 1753. A reference to the accompanying plan will make the exact positions of all the buildings, etc., both at the Wells Walk and at Weatherall Place, more clear.

In 1761 all the property was in the possession of a Mr. Simmonds, who let the public rooms, and himself lived in a cottage in Well Road adjoining his stabling. This cottage is now tenanted by Mr. Drake.



- A. Great Room and Pump Room.
- B. The Wells House.
- C. The Head Spring and Bath Pond.
- D. The Ball Room.
- E. The Long Room.
- F. Bowling Green.
- G. The Ornamental Pond.
- H H. Probable site of Raffle Shops, etc.
- K. Public Fountain.
- L. Tavern.
- M. Foley House.
- N. The Bath House.

ROUGH PLAN OF WELL WALK AND NEIGHBOURHOOD, *circa* 1761.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE HISTORY

There are other references to the property in the Court Rolls, but none of particular interest until 1783, when it is related that license was granted by the Lord of the Manor to Robert Simmons to demise to Jonas Fox, vintner, of Hampstead, all his messuage and premises known by the name of the Long Room, Assembly Rooms, and the garden ground behind the same and the field of meadow ground fronting the said messuage.

In the year 1795 Thomas Weatherall was admitted as tenant of the property, and in 1809 his son, Thomas Weatherall, junior. In 1810 Charles Cooper came into possession of it, and the premises are described in the copy of Court Roll as "The Long Room with a large garden, the Assembly Rooms and a stable formerly in the possession of T. Digby and afterwards of Henry Vipont and also a new room called the Assembly Room." This second Assembly Room is that adjoining the Long Room, both now being parts of Weatherall House. The old stable by Well Road is of equal age with the Long Room, as it was in existence during the ownership of the property by Thomas Digby. Mrs. Rooth is now the owner of Weatherall House, but the Cooper family own the chief part of, if not all, the remainder of this estate. The conversion of these public rooms into private houses took place



A. The Long Room in Weatherall Place, circa 1750.

B. The Ball Room

C. Burgh House.

[From Chatelaine's print.

VIEW OF THE WELLS BUILDINGS DURING THE SECOND PERIOD.

SECOND PERIOD OF THE HISTORY

during the ownership of the elder Thomas Weatherall, viz., about 1800.

Almost, if not all, these buildings, though somewhat altered, are standing to-day. In a well-known print after Chatelaine given in Lysons' "Environs of London," this Long Room and the Ball and Assembly Rooms are clearly shown, together with Burgh House and other buildings. Some sixty years ago the appearance of the three first-named buildings, with the meadow and orchard in front, was very much the same as shown in this print. The Long Room was then a white building. It was encased in red brick, and a high brick wall built in front of it by the late Mr. Rooth about thirty years since. The bull's-eye window in the south pavilion of the other building, now 7, Well Walk, was inserted by the late owner, Mr. Lennard. The meadow in front has been built upon, while upon the gardens on both sides of the road in front of Burgh House the militia barracks and other houses have been erected within the last fifty years, as has already been said.

CHAPTER VIII

THE NEW WELLS ASSEMBLY ROOMS

Subscribers and frequenters of these new rooms different from those who took part in the amusements at the older rooms in the Wells Walk.—Public fountain in the Wells Walk.—Gradual decline in the popularity of the new Wells Assembly Rooms.—Further extracts from the manor records.—Thomas Weatherall admitted to the property in 1795.—Attempt by Dr. Bliss in 1802 to revive the popularity of the Wells.—Fresh legal troubles in 1820 between the Lord of the Manor and the Wells Trustees lasting until 1829.—Result.

THE persons for whose benefit these Weatherall Place Assembly Rooms were built were of a very different class from those who came to the older rooms in the Wells Walk. The extremely low fees for admission to the concerts and balls, 1s. and 6d. at the old Long Room, naturally attracted with the more respectable a number of objectionable characters. From the description of the Weatherall Place rooms given in Park, it is plain that this institution was more like a social club. He says: "Here the gentry used formerly to meet every Monday evening to play at cards; there was likewise an as-

ENTERTAINMENTS PROVIDED

sembly beginning at Whitsuntide and ending in October. The Ball Room was 75 feet long by 33 feet wide,¹ and adorned in a very elegant manner. On each side of the entrance were two small but neat rooms for tea and cards. A guinea subscription admitted a gentleman and two ladies to the Ball Room every other Monday. To non-subscribers admittance was half-a-crown each night. The master of the ceremonies had an annual benefit, when the tickets were 5s. each; on this occasion a concert usually commenced the evening." There are no records, so far as I know, of any riotous or unseemly conduct on the part of those attending these meetings. The "Obscure Hamlet" had now become a fashionable suburb. Many of its inhabitants and their visitors were persons of taste and refinement. It was to these gatherings at the Wells and Assembly Rooms in Weatherall Place that Pope, Arbuthnot, and other literary celebrities of the time resorted, and not to the haunts of the profligate dicers and gamblers at the Wells Walk assembly rooms. The reputed efficacy of the waters, the pure air and the beauty of the neighbourhood, together with the society to be found there, would naturally attract literary men in search of repose from the great metropolis.

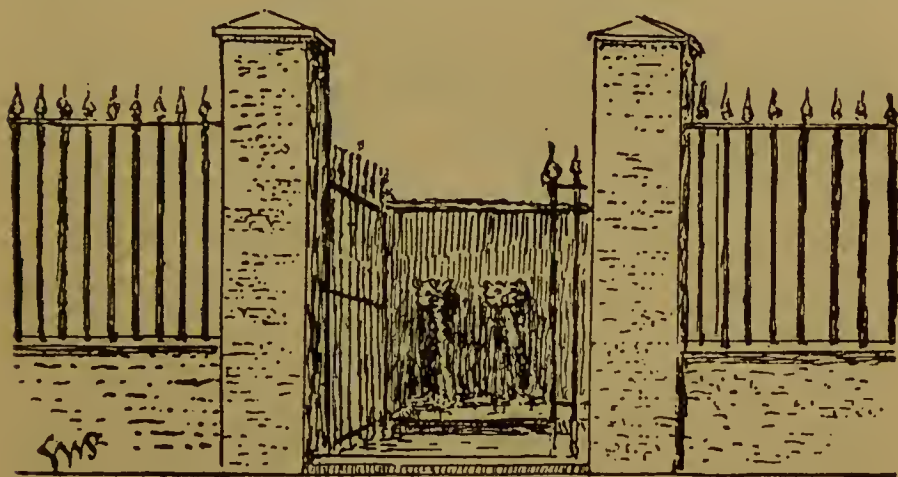
¹ I have recently tested these measurements and found them correct.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

The fountain, basin, etc., from the old Pump Room were removed to a new position. Dr. Soames describes this site as "adjoining the Chapel, where there is a bason fixed upon a longe pipe on the declivity of the hill." There is such a declivity by the site of the Wells House, but none by the chapel. I think the explanation is that the spring was near the chapel, but that a pipe led from it to the Wells House by the back of the tavern. The lower position would account for the force of the jet of water thrown up from this pipe as described by Dr. Soames. He states that "this pipe is so well stored with water that (as the man who attends to the well informs me) it will throw off 5 gallons of water in five minutes; it has that force that it may be made to throw the water up in a perpendicular height twelve or fourteen feet at least, there being always a large quantity running to waste." As Dr. Soames speaks of the pipe being *made* to throw up the water 12 or 14 feet, there was certainly some means for doing this at pleasure. The old upper head spring and bath pond being 40 feet or more above the Wells House, a pipe from this upper spring to the fountain in the Wells House would easily furnish these means. I remember the Well Walk fountain about 1840. It was in front of a house since taken down and replaced by new buildings, Nos. 42 and 44, Well

OLD FOUNTAIN IN WELL WALK

Walk. The water issued from two bronze lions' heads in two fairly strong jets, and was received into a shallow square stone basin. The wall at back and the sides of this basin were always very thickly encrusted with a ferruginous deposit. The water from this fountain was certainly more strongly chalybeate in character than that from



PUBLIC CHALYBEATE FOUNTAIN IN WELL WALK,
circa 1845.

the existing barely dripping fountain on the other side of the road. The taste of the water, too, was strongly astringent. This old fountain, or one like it, was, I think, provided for the use of the Hampstead public and accessible to all. The one in the Pump Room, and in the Wells House, were those provided for visitors taking the waters at different periods.

In spite of Dr. Soames' exertions, the people

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

coming to Hampstead from London to drink the waters became fewer and fewer; but the attractions of the balls, concerts, etc., at the New Assembly Rooms continued and met with more or less success until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. Yet in 1802 another attempt was made to draw the attention of the London public to the medicinal waters of Hampstead. In that year there appeared in the "London Medical Review and Magazine" an analysis of the waters by John Bliss. Afterwards a treatise appeared separately in a tract entitled "Experiments and Observations on the Medicinal Waters of Hampstead and Kilburn, by John Bliss, member of the Royal College of Surgeons." Dr. Bliss was not so extravagant as Dr. Soames in his praise of the waters. He disavows all intention of making invidious comparisons with other places or contending for any superior medicinal properties which this water may possess over others of a similar nature. He goes on to say that, although Hampstead has been less visited as a place of amusement, yet it has always been the resort of invalids, and that during the last twenty years it has been increasing in reputation, and now during the summer months it is much frequented by the inhabitants of the metropolis. He then gives a description and an analysis of the water, which will be found in the Appendix,

FRESH LEGAL TROUBLES

together with analyses which have been made at various times until recently.

Dr. Bliss ends his treatise by remarking that "the waters have been found very beneficial in all chronic diseases, etc., and where there is general debility of the system; but great circumspection is required where there is any organic disease."

Now, to return again to the history of the Wells estate proper, we find that on the 25th of July, 1755, license was granted by the Lord of the Manor to the trustees to demise to John Mitchell all houses, edifices, buildings, water appurtenances (except the pond or spring in the occupation of John Vincent the younger).

On the 25th of July, 1771, by a similar license it is related that the land formerly called the Bowling Green and certain stabling were demised to a Mr. Norris for a term of thirty years; and in the year 1810 the whole of the Wells property was leased to Mrs. Ann Buckner for a term of forty years. In 1850 the lease to Mrs. Ann Buckner fell in, and the whole of the property, with all improvements, reverted again to the trustees. We have seen that in 1726 the Wells estate formed the subject of several severe and long-protracted lawsuits. About a century later, viz., in 1820, fresh trouble of this kind arose. By a decree of the Court of Chancery in 1730

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

it was ordered that when the number of the trustees should be reduced to five the Lord of the Manor should, with the approbation of the Court of Chancery, nominate nine new trustees, a *reasonable fine to the Lord being paid*; it was with regard to this latter condition that the dispute arose between the Lord of the Manor and the trustees. The trustees considered the fine demanded by the Lord excessive. After litigation lasting until 1829, the Court of Chancery decreed that an amount of about £4,000 should be paid to the Lord of the Manor by the trustees for fine and costs.

CHAPTER IX

HISTORY OF THE OLD LONG ROOM

The old Long or Great Room in Well Walk as a place of worship.—The Wells gardens.—Bowling green.—The Long Room as a Presbyterian Church.—As a volunteer drill hall.—Discoveries made in dismantling it.—Opening ceremony, speeches, in 1862.

THE Well Walk Chapel continued to be used as a licensed place of worship in connection with the Established Church of England. Since 1725 a succession of clergymen had officiated in it. This chapel, when I first knew it about 1842, was attended by a large and wealthy congregation. Few poor persons worshipped in it. The chief members of the congregation at that time were Sir Edward Parry, the Arctic explorer, Mr. Gurney Hoare and other members of that family, and the families of Pryor, Holford, Toller, Melville, Jackson, and others. The Rev. Archdeacon Hankinson was the incumbent. The services, of which there were three on each Sunday, were of the Evangelical type, and the morning sermons were about an hour in length. There were galleries along one side and at both ends of the

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

building. In the south end gallery was a window looking upon the large grounds of the adjoining house, now 46, Well Walk.¹ In this garden was a large circular pond with an island in the middle, and a boat-house with the boat just visible was at the west end. This lakelet was surrounded by fine trees and shrubbed walks. Its size and position are still pretty clearly indicated by the inclosed part of Gainsborough Gardens. Most of the trees still survive, and notably a very fine horse chestnut, some of whose far-reaching limbs used to hang over and were reflected in the clear water of the pond. As a boy I loved to get to this gallery and sit by the window. I could not only endure the longest sermons, but sometimes was surprised to find a sermon so soon ended—the large ornamental pond, the island and the boat furnished such delightful material for my boyish imaginings.

The Bowling Green, which was so much used by the frequenters of the Wells, was a little to the north-east of the pond. There is still a portion of the old avenue remaining which formerly led to it from the Great Room.

For being enabled to point out the exact site of

¹ This comparatively small house had for garden nearly the whole of the pleasure grounds formerly attached to the Hampstead Spa—several acres in extent.

THE WELLS GARDENS

the old Bowling Green I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. A. Hallowes, the owner of the two houses, "Heathside" and "Fern Bank Villa." Mr. Hallowes has kindly sent me the following extract from the Manor Court Roll of June 10th, 1812:

"Surrender of George Leckie to use of Samuel Pratt All that customary or copyhold piece or parcel of ground formerly part of the waste of the said Manor lying and being on part of Hampstead Heath behind the ground formerly a Bowling Green on the south side thereof as the same now is and for some time past has been fenced off included and used as a garden ground etc. etc.

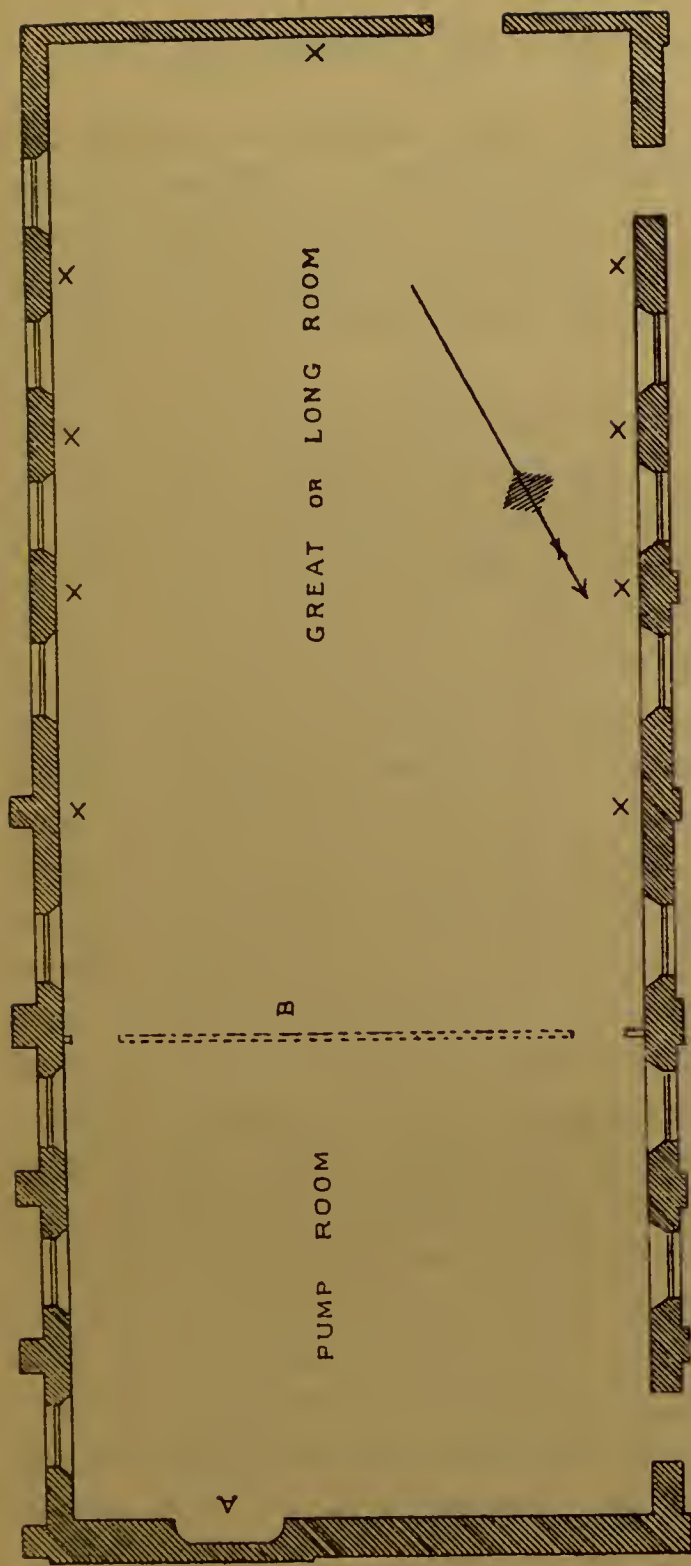
"And also all that other piece or parcel of ground formerly part of the waste of the said Manor situate and being behind the Bowling Green near the Wells Walk etc. etc."

This clearly establishes the fact that the old Bowling Green was immediately behind the two houses above mentioned.

In 1852 Christ Church was built, and the Well Walk Chapel congregation removed to it. The small congregation of Presbyterians in Hampstead at that time worshipped in the long building on the south side of Perrin's Court. They removed to the Well Walk Chapel just after it was vacated by the Episcopalians in

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

1852. In 1861-2 the New Presbyterian Church in the High Street was built, and this body left the old Well Walk Chapel for their new and more commodious place of worship. In 1862 the newly-formed body of local Rifle Volunteers, who had for some time used the Perrin's Court Long Room as a drill-hall, hired the abandoned chapel in Well Walk, which made for them a very roomy drill-hall. In order to fit the interior of the building for its new purpose it became necessary to remove pulpit, pews, galleries, etc. When this was done there was left a clear space of 90 feet by 36 feet. It was while this work was being carried out, and also during some decorative works to the inside walls a few years later, that some interesting discoveries were made. In the wall at the north end, on removing some wainscot, there was revealed a large niche or recess with traces of basin and pipes having been fixed in it. This was beyond all doubt the spot where the basin and fountains which supplied the visitors to the Spa with the chalybeate water, used to stand. At a later date, viz., about 1874, while some workmen were washing off the old colouring from the walls, the foreman came to tell me that some old paintings had appeared. On going to the spot I found that these were nine life-sized paintings of the Muses. There could be no mistaking what these figures

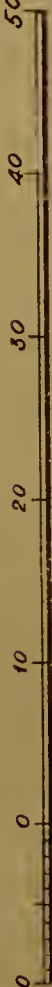


A. Fountain basin.

B. Partition.

x x x Where paintings were found.

50 feet



Scale of 10

PLAN OF THE PUMP ROOM AND THE LONG OR GREAT ROOM IN THE WELLS WALK.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

represented, for under each was painted the name, Clio, Euterpe, and so on. These paintings were found on the spaces between the windows at the sides of the hall farthest from the fountain end. There were none towards the pump room end.

Several persons saw these paintings, but work had to go on, and they were again coloured over. These paintings would be appropriate enough in a room devoted to music and dancing, but scarcely so in a pump room; and the fact that no such painting could be found at the pump room end of the hall was most significant. The dimensions of this Great Room were given as 60 by 36 feet, but the apartment measured 90 by 36 feet (I have frequently measured it). The space left, therefore, 36 feet by 30 feet, was doubtless that used as a pump room, being divided from the larger room probably by some sort of partition. I was well acquainted with this historic building, and before it was taken down had many opportunities of examining it closely. There was a large cellar under its whole extent, and this cellar ran also in an odd sort of way under the adjoining house at the north end, and partly under the house with the oriel window, now No. 46, Well Walk, a portion of which house has also been removed. As the floor of the Great Room was formerly used so much for dancing, and as

THE OLD LONG ROOM

the joists and other timbers were not of the strength necessary for a floor of such large area without support, there was quite a forest of upright posts in the cellar beneath to give this floor the required strength. These posts were mostly of unhewn timber, and even with the help of these supports the large floor must have been severely tested by the rhythmic movements of dancers. The walls, which were fairly thick, were of red brick. The side fronting Well Walk was distempered a drab colour; but on the garden front the red bricks were seen of their natural tint.¹ The whole building at some time soon after its erection appeared to have settled over from the west side to the eastward, so that the wall in the garden front overhung considerably. To save the building from collapsing a number of massive buttresses of red brick had been added. As these old buttresses were covered afterwards with ivy the appearance of this part of the Great Room, from the garden, was very picturesque, and altogether different from the aspect of the building as viewed from Well Walk.

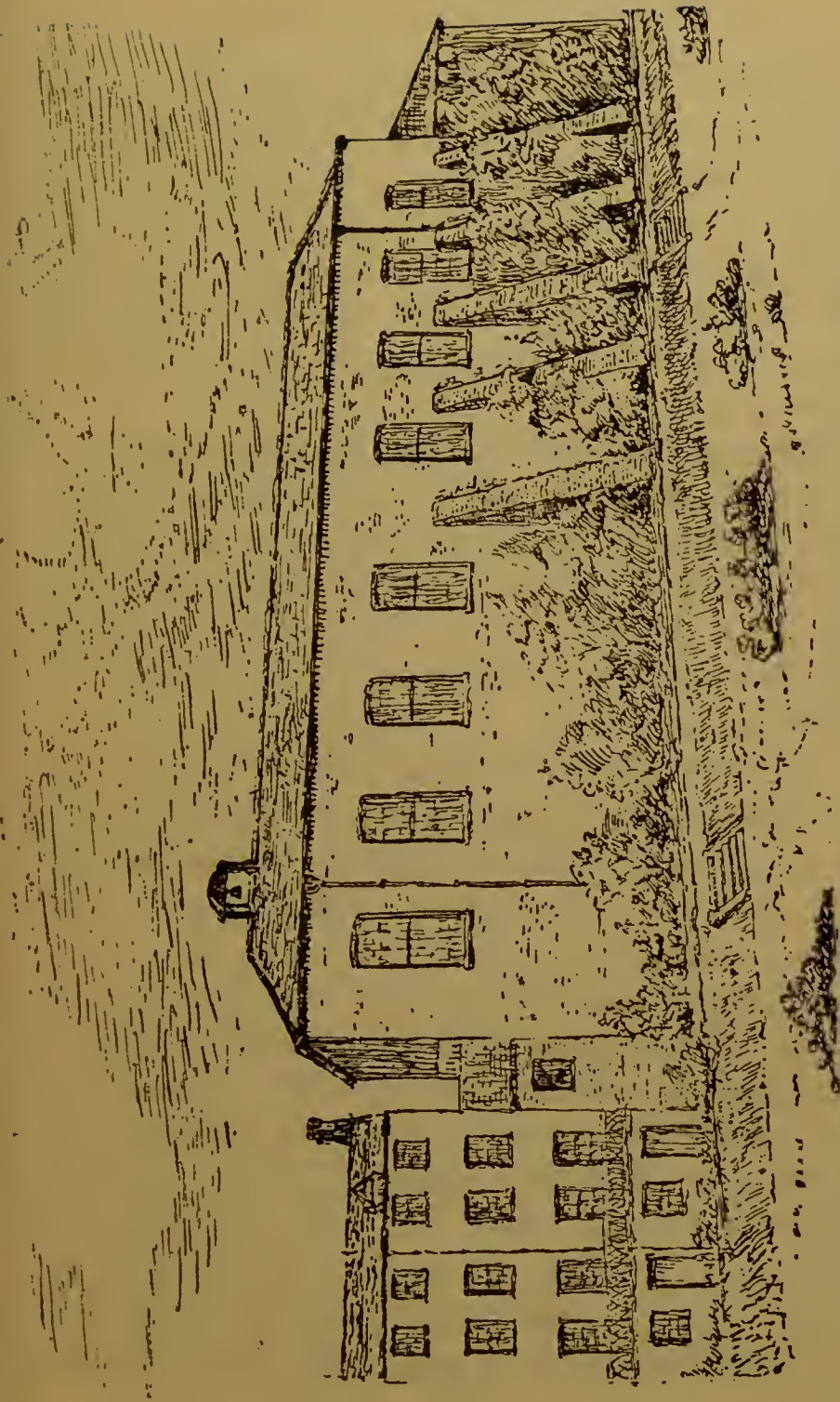
The swampy nature of the site at the time when the Great Room was built would account for this extensive settlement, and this was no

¹ The ground on the east or garden side of this building was several feet lower than the level of the road in Well Walk.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

doubt also the reason for the excavation of the large cellar beneath the floor. The gay dancers of two hundred years ago were happily unaware of the peril which must often have threatened them from the faulty construction of the building put up by Messrs. Duffield and Luffingham.

In 1862 the Hampstead Volunteers opened their newly-acquired drill-hall with some ceremony. Many of the leading inhabitants of Hampstead were present as guests, as well as visitors from a distance. Among the latter were the late Sir William Bodkin—as an old Hampstead volunteer of 1812—Colonel Wilkinson and others. Sir William told an amusing story of target practice by his company in 1811 at the battery on the Heath not far off, where, he said, after a long practice only one man throughout the day hit the centre of the target at sixty yards, and he was seen to shut his eyes when he fired. The very same muskets used by this company were arranged as a trophy on the wall of the drill-hall in which Sir William was speaking. Pointing to the trophy he said: “It was from one of those old muskets that the bullet which hit the target was fired, but I cannot exactly say which.” The Rev. Thomas Ainger, the then vicar of the parish, was also present, and made a witty speech. Recalling the history of the Old Room, which



SOUTH-EAST FRONT OF THE GREAT ROOM AND PUMP ROOM ABOUT 1845, THEN
USED AS AN EPISCOPAL CHAPEL.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

he alluded to as of the feminine gender, he said, "She has been in turn in the hands of the three sable sisters. First, she was supported by the doctors of medicine; then she became the property of some professors of divinity; for a long time she fell into the hands of the lawyers; and now the military have got hold of her, and I wish them joy of her."

As a capital drill-hall the old structure served a useful purpose; but in 1882 the Volunteers had to remove and provide themselves with a new drill-hall. The old building was taken down by the Wells Trustees in order to make use of the site, and that of the large garden behind, for building purposes.

The new house built on the site of the Great or Long Room is aptly named "Well Side." A tablet upon it states that the house occupies the site of the old pump room, which is, as I have shown, only partly correct. The large pond in the garden was filled up, and enclosed as a tennis lawn. The original features of the old garden have to a great extent been carefully preserved. The noble trees have had especial care, a circumstance which has been duly appreciated by those aristocratic birds, the rooks—a colony of these having during the last few years taken up their abode in these trees. The first one or two individuals were driven away by a pair of carrion

THE LONG ROOM AS A DRILL-HALL

crows, who also took a fancy to the spot; but the next season the rooks returned in greater numbers, and, having defeated their enemies, have made their tenure quite secure.

CHAPTER X

FAILURE OF THE OLD SPRING

The "Green Man" tavern.—Erection of new fountain on the failure of the old spring.—Successful attempts to re-discover the spring.—Condemnation of the use of the water by the Medical Officers of Health.—Dr. W. Garnett's views.

THE "Old Green Man" tavern was pulled down and the newer Wells tavern built on its site in 1849-50.

The old weather-boarded house—Willow House—was taken down about twenty-two years ago, and, the trustees of the Wells Charity having obtained from the Lord of the Manor a grant of a piece of waste land in front of it, four new houses were built here. It will be remembered that in the garden of this house was the head spring and bath pond.

The construction of sewers in Well Walk and Well Road having quite cut off the flow of water to the old chalybeate spring on the east side of Well Walk, the trustees of the charity caused search to be made for the original spring on the west side of the road, and a handsome new stone

FAILURE OF THE OLD SPRING

and granite fountain was erected, bearing the following inscription:

"To the Memory of the Honourable Susanna Noel, who with her son Baptist, third Earl of Gainsborough, gave this well with six acres of land to the use and benefit of the poor of Hampstead, December 20th, 1698.

"Drink, traveller, and with strength renewed
Let kindly thoughts be given
To her who has thy thirst subdued;
Then render thanks to Heaven."

This is a very beautiful stanza, but strangely inappropriate; for the water from this new fountain only drips drop by drop very slowly, and never has done otherwise. The traveller requiring a draught of it would have to spend at least an hour to obtain a moderate one from this source; and when he had obtained it he probably would not relish it very much. This water is now only very slightly chalybeate, but its old reputation still survives. Persons in the early morning may still be seen endeavouring to obtain a small quantity of it. It is said to form an excellent lotion for weak eyes. It is chiefly on this account that it is still appreciated.

Feeling sure that there was still to be discovered a supply of the old medicinal water higher up the hill, in 1899 I obtained from my

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

co-trustees of the Wells Charity permission to make such a search. The workmen employed were supplied by the Borough Council, the trustees paying for the labour, etc. A spot was selected where there were no sewers in Well Road, near the Heath, and, a shaft having been sunk to a depth of sixteen feet, a good supply of strongly chalybeate water was found — the old spring water, in fact. It would have been easy to lay pipes from this spot to the new fountain in Well Walk ; but, alas! an analysis of the water being made, the latter was found to contain a very small quantity of organic matter, and its use was thereupon forbidden by Dr. Gwynn, the late medical officer of health. Thinking that the workmen had contaminated the water in the shaft by standing in it, and that another effort might be more successful, in November, 1902, I asked for and obtained from the trustees leave to make another experiment.

This time, the consent of Mr. Arthur Clarke having been readily granted, a shaft was sunk in his garden not far from the spot where the other excavation was made in 1899. Mr. Hudson, of High Street, was the builder employed, and he took a great interest in the work. The same result followed; a good supply of water was found containing about four times as much ferruginous matter as in the water from the new fountain in

ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE THE SPRING

Well Walk. Samples were taken from the fountain water and from the water in the shaft; both were analyzed by the borough analyst, and both were found to contain a very small amount of organic impurity. Dr. Littlejohn, the present medical officer, on the 17th November, 1902, wrote to me with regard to both samples:

“DEAR SIR,

“With reference to the analyst’s report on the two samples of water, Nos. 2 and 3, a copy of which I forwarded to you on the 10th inst., it appears to me that I cannot allow it to pass without representing to those in whom is vested the Chalybeate Spring that persons drinking this water run a serious risk of injury to their health.

“I am, dear Sir, etc., etc.,

“HERBERT LITTLEJOHN,

“Medical Officer of Health.”

This gave a final blow to all ideas of restoring the old Well Walk spring for the present. The trustees did not like to close altogether the new fountain in Well Walk, but Dr. Littlejohn’s warning made it imperative to do something to show that the water was not fit for drinking, and therefore a notice to this effect is now exhibited on the fountain. People who desire it can, however, still use the water as lotion for the eyes. In bygone

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

days, when this water was so freely drunk by the express recommendation of the medical faculty, there was no such thing as proper sanitary drainage, and the subsoil was contaminated by numerous cesspools. It is hard, therefore, to understand how this water could then have been more free from organic impurity than it is in these days of proper drainage.

I am not alone in thinking that if proper measures were taken it would be possible to restore the new fountain in Well Walk by supplying it with a good and constant supply of the chalybeate water which is yet to be found in the immediate neighbourhood. Dr. William Garnett, who was living at No. 3, Foley Avenue, at the time, took a great deal of interest in the efforts being made to find such a supply of this water in 1899 in Well Road. The chief reason for his feeling this interest arose from the fact that there was such a flow of this water from the garden at the back of his house that a nine-inch drain pipe had shortly before been laid by the side of this house in order to conduct this very water into the house drains, and so to the sewer in Well Walk.

At my request Dr. Garnett was kind enough to have a sample of this water taken and an analysis of it made by a competent analytical chemist. Dr. Garnett has courteously given me permission to publish the letter which he wrote to me at this

PRESENT CONDITION

time, together with the analyst's report. These will be found in the Appendix.

In 1850 the lease to Ann Buckner fell in, and the trustees very wisely enfranchised the whole estate, paying to the Lord of the Manor as a fine, etc., for so doing, the sum of £4,358. By this means all danger of disputes with the Lord of the Manor in future was removed.

The handsome new fountain in Well Walk, a fountain without water, is now only a monument—a monument to commemorate the memory of the departed glories of the once famous Hampstead Spa. But even now I am not without hope that a supply of this water, practically pure, may yet be found and led to this fountain—a fountain only in name at present.

CHAPTER XI

OTHER MEDICINAL SPRINGS

Other medicinal springs at South End Road and at Kilburn.—Quotation from Park's "History" concerning them.—Conclusion, etc.

A HISTORY of the Hampstead Wells would be incomplete without some reference to the other medicinal springs found in the parish. One of these, of which Park speaks, was at the south end of the Heath and the other at Kilburn. Of these the latter was the better known. The Kilburn Wells at one time promised to be a rival to the one at Well Walk. Park thus describes it: "In the Hamlet of Kilburn there is a mineral spring belonging to a tea-drinking house, well known as Kilburn Wells to the holiday folk of London." He then gives the following extract from the "London Advertiser" of July, 1733.

"Kilburn Wells near Paddington. The waters are now in the utmost perfection. The Gardens enlarged and greatly improved, the house and offices repaired and beautified in the most elegant manner. The whole is now opened for the reception of the public, the Great Room being par-

OTHER MEDICINAL SPRINGS

ticularly adapted for the use and amusement of the politest Companies; fit either for music, dancing or entertainments. This happy spot is equally celebrated for its rural situation, extensive prospects and the acknowledged efficacy of its waters—is most delightfully situated on the site of the once famous Abbey of Kilburn in the Edgware Road at an easy distance, being but a morning's walk from the metropolis—two miles walk from Oxford Street. The footway from Marybone across the fields still nearer.

“A plentiful larder is always provided, together with the best of wines and other liquors. Breakfasting and Hot Loaves.

“Note! a printed account of the waters as drawn up by an eminent physician is given gratis at the Wells.”

This spring appears to have been first discovered about 1714.

Like the more famous one in Well Walk, it owed whatever popularity it obtained chiefly to the efforts of members of the medical profession, Dr. Bliss and others. The character of the water from this spring was entirely different from that at Well Walk; but the analyses of the water made respectively by Dr. Bliss and Mr. Godfrey Schmeisser differ considerably, and Park confesses himself unable to investigate the matter.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

The whole business seems to have been an attempt to create, under the name of the Kilburn Wells, a new place of entertainment on the lines of the Spa in Well Walk; but, in spite of the above puffing advertisement, the Kilburn Wells enjoyed but a very brief popularity. Park states that another reputed medicinal spring at Hampstead was discovered by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, a surgeon then living at Hampstead, about 1804. This is described as a spring of saline waters, and was found at the south-east extremity of the Heath near Pond Street. The position of it cannot now be exactly determined, but it must have been very near to where the Hampstead Heath Railway Station now stands. Dr. Goodwin published an account of this spring in 1804, with various observations and recommendations as to patients using its waters. This was the last of these attempts by doctors to make known to the public the healing virtues of Hampstead medicinal waters. The collapse of this last effort must have been very near when it was advertised that the patients of Dr. Goodwin and his successor were to be presented annually with "an admission ticket to the springs free of expense." Since Dr. Goodwin's time no local medical practitioner has thought proper to draw the attention of the public to the health-giving qualities of the water of the Hampstead springs. Their very

CONCLUSION

existence became known to few outside the boundaries of the parish, and the reputation they once enjoyed has become a thing of the past. At the very time when these waters were so loudly vaunted as a sovereign remedy for almost every known disease, the annual death-rate in the parish, according to the parish register, was about 30 per thousand. In the present day it has fallen to something like one-third, viz., from 9 to 11 per thousand.

Nature has done much for Hampstead. Its elevated position, its sandy subsoil, and pure bracing air should always have made it a healthy spot. But these natural advantages availed the old inhabitants but little, and although the latter might take copious draughts of their much-praised medicinal waters, drinking these waters could not counteract the effects of living in houses in which every law of sanitation, as we now know it, was broken. We are wiser now, and our parish is one of the very healthiest in the kingdom.

In reviewing the history of the Hampstead Wells we must reflect that but for the reputation gained by the old local Spa two hundred years ago, the annals of our parish would be very much poorer. The history of Well Walk and its springs is practically the history of Hampstead.

Despite the adverse verdict of two of our officers of health, I still cherish a hope that some-

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

one more fortunate than I have been may be able to devise and put into execution some means by which the old chalybeate spring which has been proved still to exist at Well Walk, may be restored pure enough in quality to satisfy the medical authorities, and sufficient in quantity to meet the wants of those who would then drink these waters.

I think that any one who has carefully read Dr. W. Garnett's recent report on the subject will agree that this hope is not an extravagant one.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ANALYSES OF WATER FROM THE WELL WALK SPRINGS MADE AT VARIOUS TIMES

Copy of an analysis made in 1802 of this water by Dr. Bliss, and published in the "Medical Review and Magazine," vol. vi. :

Solid contents in a wine gallon:

	Grains.
Oxyd of iron	1.50
Muriate of magnesia.	1.75
Sulphate of lime	2.12
Muriate of soda (nearly)	1.0
Silex (about)	0.38
	<hr/>
	6.75
	<hr/>

Gaseous contents as follows:

	Cubic inches.
Carbonic acid gas	10.1
Air somewhat less pure than atmo- spherical.	90.9
	<hr/>
	100.1
	<hr/>

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

Copy of an analysis made in 1870 by direction of the Metropolitan Board of Works :

	Grains.
Oxide of iron	3.10
Sulphate of lime	14.25
Carb. lime	2.73
Nitrate of lime	0.20
Sulph. magnesia	1.91
Chlor. sodium	5.00
Chlor. magnesium	0.86
Silica and alumina	1.20
Saline ammonia	0.001
Organic ammonia	0.005
Nitrogen in nitrates and nitrites . .	0.046
Chlorine	3.60
	<hr/>
	<u>29.902</u>

Hardness:

	Deg.
Permanent hardness	13.2
Temporary hardness	5.8
	<hr/>
	<u>19.0</u>

Copy of an analysis of water from the fountain in Well Walk, after removal to its new position on the west side, near No. 17, made by Dr. Atfield in February, 1884:

APPENDIX A

	Grains per gallon.
Carbonate of iron	1.82
Chloride of potassium	4.08
Chloride of sodium	5.30
Nitrate of sodium	8.58
Ammoniacal salts	0.06
Sulphate of calcium	20.42
Carbonate of calcium	1.00
Carbonate of magnesium	5.00
Silica	1.20
Organic matter (nitrogen)	0.05
	<hr/>
	47.51
	<hr/>

Note.—This appears to be a chalybeate water mixed with ordinary surface water. If this could be excluded a purely chalybeate water would probably be obtained.

Copy of an analysis of water from the reservoir at the back of the same fountain, made by Professor C. Heisch on October 30th, 1889:

	Grains per gallon.
Chlorine	5.18
Sulphuric acid ($S O_4$)	20.04
*Iron	0.35
Silica	2.00
Aluminium	3.04
Calcium	4.08
Magnesium	1.64
Alkalies (potassium and sodium)	2.53
	<hr/>
Traces of organic matter	38.86
	<hr/>

* By the time the water dribbles out of the fountain the iron is gone.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

APPENDIX B

Copy of a letter and report from Dr. William Garnett *re* the flow of chalybeate water found at Foley Avenue :

“ 3, Foley Avenue,
“ Well Walk, Hampstead Heath.
“ 14th March, 1899.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ I collected a sample of the water discharged by the old 9^{inch} stoneware drain which was laid along a portion of the side of this house. As at present arranged this subsoil drain discharges into a deep syphon trap which at the outlet is connected to the iron sanitary drain, and the sample of water was collected where the discharge enters the trap. As the inspection opening of the trap is closed only by a perforated cover through which dust readily falls it was not of much use to test for organic impurity, so I confined the analysis to the iron present. The analyst reports as follows :

“ “ The sample of water has been examined and found to contain 6 milligrammes of iron per 100 c.cs calculated as Oxide Fer. 3° 1'. This would be equal to 4.2 grains per gallon. The oxide of iron in suspension in 210 milligrammes per 100 c.cs, equal to 146 grains per gallon. I think that neglecting altogether the iron in suspension, which made the water the colour of sherry,

APPENDIX C

the iron in solution is nearly double that in the chalybeate water of Spa. If the water which reaches this pipe could be intercepted before it passes under any buildings it would form a very strong chalybeate water.'

"Very faithfully yours,

"WM. GARNETT.

"Geo. W. Potter, Esq."

APPENDIX C

Copy of Mr. Thomas Goodwin's analysis of the water of the medicinal spring found near Pond Street (New South End Road) made in 1804:

Solid contents of one wine gallon:

	Grains.
Sulphate of lime	36
Sulphate of soda	15
Sulphate of magnesia	291
Carbonate of lime	5
Deposit of sulphate of magnesia . . .	171
Muriate of soda	13
	<hr/>
	531
	<hr/>

Gases in measure 6 oz.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

APPENDIX D

Copy of an analysis of water from the Kilburn mineral spring made in 1792 by Dr. Bliss:

	Grains per gallon.
Oxyd of iron, not appreciable	
Carbonate of lime	8.40
Carbonate of magnesia	10.75
Extractive matter	3.
Muriate of magnesia	33
Muriate of lime	14.75
Muriate of soda	18.
Sulphate of soda	117.50
Sulphate of magnesia	265.
Sulphate of lime	42
Insoluble	1.50
	<hr/>
	<u>513.90</u>

	Cubic inches.
Gaseous contents carbonic acid gas	18.
Common air	5.5
	<hr/>
Contents in a gallon	<u>23.5</u>

APPENDIX D

Copy of an analysis of the same water made by
Mr. Godfrey Schmeisser at the same date, viz., 1804:

	Grains.
Calyx of iron	$3\frac{1}{8}$
Aerated calcareous earth	24
Aerated magnesia	$12\frac{1}{2}$
Selenite	130
Muriated magnesia	128
Muriated calcareous earth	6
Muriated natron	60
Vitriolated natron	282
Vitriolated magnesia	910
Resinous matter	6
	<hr/>

Gaseous contents:

	Cubic inches.
Hepatic air	36 (near)
Fixed air	84
	<hr/>

Contents in 24 pounds.

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

APPENDIX E

Report made to the Trustees of the Wells and Campden Charity by G. W. Potter:

“4, Gayton Crescent,
“Hampstead, N.W.
“*Novr. 19th*, 1902.

“MR. CHAIRMAN,

“Those Trustees who were present at our last Meeting will remember that at my request it was agreed that another attempt should be made to find a better and more copious supply of chalybeate water for the existing fountain in Well Walk, and I was authorized to make the necessary arrangements for carrying out this work. I now have to report to the Trustees what has been done and what is the result.

“In order to increase the chance of obtaining a supply of water as free as possible from organic matter, it was necessary to sink a trial shaft in a spot as distant as might be from sewers or drains; and the spot selected was that shown on the plan produced. Mr. Arthur Clarke, of Foley House, most kindly and readily gave his consent to an excavation being made in his garden, and showed the greatest interest in the work. The shaft was accordingly sunk in his grounds. The builder employed was Mr. Hudson, of High Street, as he was the builder usually employed by Mr. Clarke. There is a fall of 22 ft. from the spot in question to the gravel path in the Well Walk Avenue, and

APPENDIX E

a further fall of some 4 ft. to the surface of the road, some 26 ft. in all.

“Water was found at a depth of 14 ft., when a bed of soft sand or silt was reached. This bed is found at various depths all over this neighbourhood, and it is full of this chalybeate water; it is from three to four feet thick, and rests upon a bed of sandy clay or brick earth.

“Upon sinking the shaft further to a total depth of 16' 16", a good quantity of water was found, and it rapidly rose to a height of 2' 1" to 3' 0". After waiting several days, samples of the water were carefully taken and placed in bottles and sealed. At the same time, a sample was taken from the water of the Well Walk dripping fountain and sealed.

“These two samples were sent to Dr. Littlejohn, the Medical Officer of Health, whom I had previously seen on the subject. Dr. Littlejohn was most courteous and showed every desire to help in the matter. He sent the samples of water to the Borough Analyst—Mr. Alfred Stokes—for analysis. I need hardly say that neither Dr. Littlejohn nor Mr. Stokes knew which sample consisted of water from the new shaft or which came from the existing fountain.

“On the 10th inst. I received a letter from Dr. Littlejohn with a copy of Mr. Stokes' report; these papers I produce. They speak for themselves.

“I am very disappointed to find that although a much more abundant supply of this chalybeate water has been found, it is, in the opinion of our Health Officer, not quite free from surface contamination, and

HAMPSTEAD WELLS

therefore cannot be used for drinking purposes without danger to health.

“Every pains was taken to get the water as pure as possible under the circumstances, and it is possible that had it been practicable to have dug a deep trench down the whole length of the garden of Foley House—and thus allowing the water to run away freely for some days before taking away a portion for analysis—such a sample might then have been found more free from organic matter; but such a result does not now seem very probable, especially as the water from the existing fountain has also proved to be impure, and is equally condemned by Dr. Littlejohn. I put this question to Dr. Littlejohn very plainly, viz., whether his objection applied to both the samples, and his letter of the 17th inst., which I have here, is his reply.

“What should now be done as regards the Well Walk fountain is a matter, I think, for serious consideration by the Trustees. I know that if a more satisfactory result had followed the experiments which have been made, the inhabitants of Hampstead would have been greatly pleased, but although success has not attended our efforts, I think the Trustees have done their duty in the matter by their endeavours to obtain success.

“GEO. W. POTTER.”

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